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Subject General Notes XX.

Instructor

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Richard B. Gregg
note book XX

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Continuation of quotes from R. Niebuhr's "Moral Man and Immoral Society" - Scribners, 1933.

Niebuhr straddles on violence and on other questions. States many pros & cons but is ——— not sure of his own position.

p. 179. "If a reason of violence can establish a just social system and can create the possibilities of its preservation, then is no purely ethical ground upon which violence and revolution can be ruled out. This could be done only upon the basis of purely anarchistic ethical and political presuppositions. Once we have made the fateful concession of ethics to politics, and accepted coercion as a necessary instrument of social cohesion, we can make

no absolute distinctions between non-violent and violent types of coercion or between coercion used by governments and that which is used by revolutionaries". [Again the idea that means justify the end. He refers back to his opening chapter, of p 3 of his book, where it says - "all social cooperation on a larger scale than the most intimate social group requires a measure of coercion; while no state can maintain its unity purely by coercion neither can it preserve itself without coercion". But here he is confusing the state with other groups. His statement certainly is not true of smaller groups, E.g. many professional societies. Also he is confusing the point (in which it is true the element of coercion has

always been large, especially in the state) with the future or with the extrinsic necessities of society. He is arguing rather a priori. Hence his later argument about the necessity for coercion is n.g. (Cf. my article for World Tomorrow re coercion.)

p 220. "If violence can be justified at all, its terror must have the temper of a surgeon's skill and healing must follow quickly upon its wound". Analogies of violence to surgery are false because surgery is done under an anesthetic, or at least with the patient's consent, or somebody is holding the patient and the real permanent will of the patient (to get well) is not frustrated (if it's a good job).

p. 235. "It is of course dangerous to accept the principle, that the end

justifies the means which are used in its attainment. The danger arises from the ease with which any social group, engaged in social conflict, may justify itself by professing to be fighting for freedom & equality. Society has no absolutely impartial tribunal which could judge such claims." (He is wrong. My view in my class war class is the right one)

p. 237. "All social power is partially derived from the actual possession of physical instruments of coercion, economic or martial. But it also depends to a large degree upon its ability to secure unreasoned and unreasonable obedience, repute and reverence. Insofar as power tends to destroy this source of its

power, it makes for the diminution of the strength of the strong and adds to the power of the weak. The expropriators are expropriated in another sense beside the one which Marx analyzed. Reason divests them of some of their moral conceit, as well as of some measure of the social and moral approbation of their fellows. They are not so certain of the approval of either their own conscience or that of the impartial community. Divested of either or both they are like Samson with his locks shorn. A considerable degree of power has gone from them. The forces of reason in society are not strong enough to guarantee that the development will ever result in a complete equality of power; but it works to

that end." ∑ This is a good reason for publishing my (NVR book).

On p 240-45 NVR is again discussed and he argues that non-violence "comes + destroys" Tells how there is an element of propaganda even in all education. He is wrong re coercion.

pp. 246-7 Re Gandhi ... - "Thus, while justifying his support of England during the War, he declared: 'Non-violence works in a most mysterious manner. Often a man's actions defy analysis in terms of non-violence; equally often his actions may have the appearance of violence when he is absolutely non-violent in the highest sense of the term, and is subsequently found to be so. All I can claim for my conduct is that I was, in that

instance cited, actuated in the interest of non-violence. There was no thought of social reform or other interests" (Speeches & writings of Mr K. Gandhi, Madras Ed, 1917, p. 142). What Mr. Gandhi is really saying in these words is that even violence is justified if it proceeds from perfect moral good will" [Which is wrong here. See my chapter on "means-ends"].

p. 149. "The value of reducing resentments to a minimum in social disputes does not mean that resentment is valueless and wholly evil. Resentment is, as Professor Ross observed, merely the egoistic side of the sense of injustice. [E.C. Ross. Social Control, p. 31]. Its complete absence simply means lack of social intelligence or moral vigor." [Wrong

of my dimension of righteous indignation. It is true that indignation is better than indifference or cowardly ~~de~~ submission, just as courageous violence is better than craven acquiescence in wrong.]

251 "The difference between violent and non-violent methods of coercion and resistance are not so absolute that it would be possible to regard violence as a morally impossible instrument of social change. It may on occasion, as Mr. Gandhi suggests, be the servant of moral goodwill." [(this wrong here req) "and non-violent methods are not perfect proofs of a loving temper." - - -

p 254. "There is no problem of political life to which religious imagination can make a larger contribution than this

problem of developing non-violent systems. The discovery of elements of common human frailty in the foe and, concomitantly, the appreciation of all human life as possessing transcendent worth, creates attitudes which transcend social conflict and thus mitigate its cruelties. It binds human beings together by reminding them of the common roots and similar character of both their sins and their virtues. These attitudes of repentance which recognize that the evil in the foe is also in the self, and these impulses of love which claim kinship with all men in spite of social conflict, are the peculiar gifts of religion to the human spirit. Secular imagination is not capable of producing them; for they require a sublime madness which disregards

immediate appearance and emphasizes profound and ultimate unities. It is no accident of history that the spirit of non-violence has been introduced into contemporary politics by a religious leader of the orient. The occident may be incapable of this kind of non violent social conflict, because the white man is a firmer beast of prey than the oriental. What is even more tragic, his religious inheritance has been disrupted by the mechanical character of his civilization. The insights of the Christian religion have become the almost exclusive possession of the more comfortable and privileged classes. They have sentimentalized them to such a degree, that the disinherited, who ought to avail themselves of this resource, have become so

conscious of the moral confusion which are associated with them, that the weights are not immediately available for the real struggle in the Western world. If they are not made available, Western civilization, whether it drift toward catastrophe or gradually brings its economic life under social control, will suffer from cruelties and be harassed by animosities which destroy the beauty of human life. Even if justice should be achieved by social conflicts which lack the spiritual elements of non-violence, something will be lacking in the character of the society so constituted":

pp. 263-4 " Pure religious idealism does not concern itself with the social problem. (?) It does not give itself to the illusion

that material and mundane advantages can be gained by the effort to assert your claims to them. It may believe, as Jesus did, that self-realization is the inevitable consequence of self-abnegation. But this self-realization is not attained on the level of physical life or mundane advantages. It is achieved in spiritual terms, such as the martyr's immortality and the Saviour's exaltation in the hearts of his disciples. Jesus did not counsel his disciples to forgive seventy times seven in order that they might convert their enemies or make them more favorably disposed. He counselled it as an effort to approximate complete moral perfection, the perfection of God. He did not ask his

2. followers to go the round mile in the hope that those who had impressed them into service would relent and give them freedom. He did not say that the enemy ought to be loved so that he would cease to be an enemy. He did not dwell on the social consequences of these moral actions, because he viewed them from an inner and transcendent perspective". [Henry J. Cadbury, The Peril of Not Making Fruit of Works].

Niebuhr would like to believe in N.V.R. & he sees many of its virtues. But he is "righteously indignant" and does not believe how N.V.R. can be made practical & powerful in the West. ∴ He vacillates between violence & N.V.R. His religious ~~instincts~~ impulses are in conflict with his anger & desire for social justice. Yet

he would welcome my book as a solution of his difficulties. One reason why his book got published is that it leaves the reader bewildered & frustrated too, and hence blocks action. He is disillusioned & harassed, admits it. ~~He~~ Uncertain whether or not to use a dramatic violence, no clear program, no clear values, all entangled in the pros & cons of each point. Not unified in aim or attitude. Yet he is honest. He wants a new illusion, a fresh certainty, a clear program, some power. I think he may welcome my book. He leaves his reader also bewildered & harassed & frustrated & ∴ the book has no incitement to action. This may be one reason why it got published.

The distinction between violence and N.V. is partly whether force is present (as in physical violence or obvious economic pressure or political pressure) and partly on the motive of the doer, - whether selfish or not, whether divine or not. Subtle, complex & indirect selfish pressures may not create fear but only hopelessness and bewilderment. But in VR clear the air and knocks the coercion and makes it show its true character to the public.

All coercion or compulsion other than physical requires, (because it is psychic) the partial consent of the victim, or it would not be merciful pressure.

All life exerts pressure & influence, just by living.

Coercion always implies a clash of wills.

It is a word used only in relation to voluntary beings. Helping someone upstairs is not coercion, because there is consent.

If the chief evil of violence is its destruction of the sense of unity, it might be argued that violence in a VR is U.K. because he refuses to let the sense of unity be impaired. But the attacker's sense of unity is weakened, & injures the onlookers.

I am not sure that justice is the highest social ideal as alleged on his p. 257. On his p 258 he intimates that love is still more important.

Re Niebuhr's position. ~~but, that~~ The diff. between group and individual morals can be partly removed by more unselfish service by leaders so as to create more trust in them among the

means, and ∴ close following of his ideals. Also NVR study will help. Relate this to his ~~study~~ chapter, to make religion more useful.

NVR does give power but it is moral power ~~and~~ put to political use.

Truth is needed as well as power. Power of bad instinct, of ~~power~~ power for desire for social support.

Since invention of NVR, coercion is, in the long run, no longer needed for social cohesion.

Are our outer conflicts only an expression of conflict in the heart of the individual, between his intuitions of unity and of diversity? Or of some other inner conflict?

Gandhi is great because he has shown

people how to use N.V.R. – the discipline. Christ did not do that. Not he who says "Lord, Lord": but he that doeth the will of God, enters the K of God. ∴ Gandhi is greater in this respect than Christ. He shows men how to do the will of God, not merely by example as X did, but by training. He has had a longer time to do it.

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N.V.R. is the conscious moral consistency, of living up to the ideals we profess, of obeying group standards of moral action, of making group action conform to individual conscience, of satisfying our own conscience, of learning and doing what is best for humanity, – social truth.

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It is interesting to see Mr. Murray plump so hard for Niebuhr and then say that organization as such is only for revolutionists. Shows his bewilderment.

NVA compels moral choice, reveals the violence of the State, strips of moral disguises.

Socialism may be a fair way to use mass power after it is attained, but it is not a way to attain it. Bolshevik attained it by violence, & break down & NCO. Gandhism is a method of attaining power.

Niebuhr in his "Moral Man in Society" says the bigger the group the more selfish it is. If so, then my argument for

decentralization & small scale is sound.

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Apparently Sir S. Hoare & Govt did not believe that Moderates would be unable to talk to a genuine Congressman without Gj's aid; that continued mulldoing in India would break the heart of the Congress; & compel acquiescence; that Moderates will come along anyhow. Perhaps they thought Moderates were just making the appeal for effect in India & didn't really mean it. Or perhaps that anyhow Congress is irreconcilable and does not have enough strength to mount on the other groups of Princes, Moslems & Untouchables. Of course only the educated unfranchised will vote. Will Ambedkar carry much weight w. his crowd? I think Gj campaign will spoil Ambed-

his influence. Dr Tomes talk this spring will spoil the influence of most of the Round Tablers.

Perhaps Shaukat Ali may have a fight with his Dr. wife on purely domestic & personal affairs & thus be turned on Dr. to get out of Dr influence.

Until the Federation comes into being the Princes are not a make-weight on Congress. Meanwhile the pro-Br. Moslems & Untouchables will lose influence, I think.

Dictionary definition of coerce.

Oxford: To constrain or restrain (a voluntary or moral agent) by the application of superior force, or by authority acting on fear; to constrain to compliance by forcible means; to keep

in order by force.
(2) (Cont) to compel a force to do anything.
(3) To subject to restraint in the matter of.
(4) To enforce a effect by compulsion.

Coercion. 1. Constraint, restraint, compulsion; the application of force to control the action of a voluntary agent

2. Govt by force, as opposed to that which acts upon the will of the ~~governed~~ governed.

3. physical

Cent. Dic. Coerce: "To restrain or constrain by force, as by the force of law or authority; especially compel to compliance; constrain to obedience or submission in a vigorous or forcible manner.

Coercion = compulsion; forcible constraint; the act of controlling by force or arms.

Webster. Coerce (1.) To constrain or restrain by force, especially by law or authority; to repress; curb.
(2) To compel or constrain to compulsion.
(3) To compel or force.

Coercion: The act, process or power of coercing; specif. the application to another of such force, either physical or moral, as to induce or constrain him to do against his will something he would not otherwise have done; compulsion. Cf. Duress: Syn. see Force.

received honorable mention. . . . "Man!" is the title of a new journal of the anarchistic ideal and movement, edited by Marcus Graham and issued by the International Group of San Francisco, 1,000 Jefferson Street, Oakland, Cal. . . . Everett Dean Martin will be interviewed by Lewis Tilt[illegible]

Paucity of news from India means, among other things, that Br is losing. If she were winning we would hear much of it.

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Norman wants me to omit chaps XI & XII, Indiv application & Biological Aspects. But in order to have it meaningful in mass use, it must first be applied by individuals. It not only can be put to use by individuals, but must be. Also this is the logical ~~Also this is the Logos~~ My book concerns individual use & its value as well as mass use. The ethical questions are too closely related to separate them. This is the best place to consider the q. of when violence is ~~=~~ right, if ever, and the q. of relative value of courageous violence & cowardly pacifism. Also the q. of insane persons & guardian cases are sure to enter any discussion & must be at

least touched on. It may not be essentially or logically necessary, but this of pantheism has never been logically considered & so the mass of confused feeling & thinking must be met. Also the of relation to children is important.

Re physiology, I may not be a physiologist but because I am not I bring a fresh mind to it. Also because I believe in N.V.R. & am trying to prove its power, I ~~note~~ note certain correlations & implications that would be missed by the technical physiologist. Norman knows nothing at all of physiology & does not know how much I have studied it. The physiological & that of progressive interest is also one to come explicitly to hand psychology up in a way. Both these two ~~parts~~ chapters are argumentative, on points that might go into the Doubt & Inner Life

but are so big that they need separate treatment.

Note that a crowd psychology "matrix" applies analogies of individual subconsciousness. What does — say on this in His Unconscious book.

Norman Brown's advice to cut out, or so gently advise: all the "chaps on sentiments, including righteous indignation, may be due to the general Western + intellectual unwillingness to dig down + change inner attitudes.

Re Chap. XV ~~Atonement~~ on self discipline Norman writes that the rules "can supply almost everything you have said". If that is so, why haven't people done so long ago. They do not work out + apply these things for themselves. Norman overrates other people's intelligence + care for R.V. Perhaps also

Norman was often busy & tired of working over small corrections. He is mistaken in thinking that n.v. is merely a matter of intellectual understanding. It requires prolonged emotional discipline. Remember H.G. Wells comment that most of the books on peace never told any practical thing for a person to do. Norman was prejudiced on 2 of the things originally because of religion & still rents it & so maintains his attitude.

Norman says to cut out the chap on biology because the reader does not look on me as a physiologist & ∴ loses confidence in me. But I am not known as a sociologist or expert on political theory, either. I may become to be so regarded by what I write, if it holds water. Same of physiology. If it distracts attention, so does all refutation — to degree.

March 13. Bess came in tonight and said she was not satisfied to be taking $50 a month and not earning it, because there is no work to do. She said she was bored because there are no customers coming in. She said she did not want to be a burden and thought it wise and fairer to eliminate herself. She said she could go and stay with Fanny or some of her friends. She said that the only thing that worried her was Mrs. Cleveland; that Mrs. Cleveland was sending her sister $25 a month; that Bess is paying her $15 more. Bess invited or asked Nonie if she would pay Mrs. Cleveland extra until summer or until Bess would be here again. Nonie said she would be

glad to keep Mrs. C. to do the cleaning + some bills + telephone at the studio but that she could not pay any more than the present $25 for that. Bess asked Nonie + me separately if we did not think it was wise for her to go. We both said she should do what she feels is wise and what will make her happy. Nonie said "I asked you to come and I will continue to pay you the $50 a month I promised." Bess said "Yes, she realized that Nonie would continue and carry out her agreement." Nonie said that if anyone should pick up in the manner she thought that Bess ought to be in Hartford to get in on the ground floor. Bess + I both agreed that nobody could

tell what would happen in summer. Bess said "you won't be here in the summer will you"? Nonie replied that she did not know, that she could make no plans at all. So after some more disturbing talk of this nature, Bess said she would go very soon and that she would speak to Mrs. Cleveland tomorrow to see what Mrs. C would decide to do. Bess said she felt responsible for her, having asked her to come up here. Nonie explained that the big decorators on the street do not have anyone come in often for a day at a time. Bess said she realized that.

Mar 17. Today's AP report of issuance of White Paper on India indicates that Tory objectors have been growing stronger & forced the hand of the Govt at the last moment, within the last week. Govt is evidently scared of a break in the ranks of the Conservative Party. Its yielding to the die-hards will lose sympathy for the Govt in U.S. as well as in India. In U.S. it will be seen more widely that the talk of self-govt is a hoax & been a fraud. This yielding will also help to keep the Labor Party out of the Joint Parl. Com. The yielding to the die hards will remove Lapse & the other Round Tablers into still more of a vacuum, & will throw many Moslems to Congress. Archibald.

If my NVR book gets published, try to get it distributed in all the Br dominions, especially Canada, N.Z & Australia. Also Europe.

If it gets published in England it will help the Br. to regard Gandhi & the Indians, will help make them feel ashamed, will make them feel the disapproval of many Americans whose respect they now very much want. They will realize the power of the movement & it will feel more hopeless, especially as they realize they have no weapon against it.

If Br. Tories get defeated by Indian by NVR then the whole Br people will be humbled and the resulting impoverishment will

sharpen the class struggle. Br. Labor will have seen how very powerful the VR is against its immediate opponent, and will be in a mood to take it on, if my book has clarified the method first in their minds. They are now groping for some effective weapon. If this takes place, the hearts of the Br. people will be changed, just as Gandhi predicted. Br. Labor has been most open, of all Br classes, to Gandhi's appeal The Br Tories will not perhaps change their hearts as a class until they have lost all their class pride. A thorough defeat at home as well as abroad will do that. Time runs among them will change before that. Often Strachey

The Br. decision to drag along the Parl. proceedings on India all through 1933 will result in further solidification of Indians. Gives better chance for my book, perhaps, to be of further aid for opposition to [illegible] in India & for enlightenment generally. Also for intrigue with Princes & financiers & industrials.

✓ Although leaders of N.V.R. are but of religious, that does not mean that even a majority of the followers must be so. But query.

✓ N.V.R. international struggle may require a fusion of angles & a complete knowledge of detail before the change of heart comes about, but if the struggle is truly N.V. the change of heart will come eventually

Some things I am doing toward promoting NVR.

1. Writing my book & pamphlet & articles defending it
2. Writing articles pro India & pro Gandhi
3. Editing bulletin ...
4. Trying to simplify my living
5. Trying to get to a farm
6. Trying to be independent in self support
7. Refusing to vote
8. ~~Trying~~ Aiming to reduce living wages so as to pay as small taxes as possible
9. Supporting labor & opposing capitalism.

Some compromises I am making with violence

1. Paying taxes.
2. Wearing expensive clothes & living with silly things
3. Accepting income from companies that support & use violence.

In Y.I. June 15, 1928 Gandhi writes "To be detached is never to abandon action because the contemplated result may not follow". "To be detached from fruit of action is not to be ignorant of them, or to disregard or disown them."

Vows of Satyagrahashram

Y.I. June 17, 1928

1. Truth; 2. Non-violence or love; 3. Chastity (celibacy); 4. Control of the palate; 5. Non-stealing; 6. non-possession or poverty; 7. physical labour; 8. Swadeshi; 9. Fearlessness; 10. removal of untouchability; 11. Tolerance.

Activities, worship, sanitary service, artificial spinning, agriculture, dairy, tannery, national education, Hindi technical school.

March 25. The article in today (Sun) N.Y. Times re Br. White Paper is by no means confidant & not buoyant about Br fulfilling their word. Very far from optimistic. If the author, Harold Callender, is an Englishman it shows low of Br. morale; if he is an American it shows the drop in Br. prestige in U.S.A.

It is significant that two of England's greatest living philosophers and mathematicians, Russell & Whitehead, both believe that Gandhi's method is right & that Br. Govt is wrong re India.

The Br Tories are certainly discouraged over India, - too deeply anxious and dis-

convinced that it will not take very much more to make them love all hope. I think the events of 1933 and early 1934 will probably have that effect. If my book gets published it will help much to make them love hope, as well as to shame them. For this reason, copies of it should be sent to Stanley Baldwin, Lord Irwin, W. Churchill, Lord Peel, Reading, Sankey, Hoare, Ramsay MacDonald

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Englishmen to whom to send the R V R book, if possible. The above &, W. Bowen, Clement Attlee, Samuelson, B. Russell, A.N. Whitehead, Miss (president only), Lord [illegible] of Q, Alexander, Charles, Miss Agatha Harrison, Sadie, Maynton, Fenner Brockway, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dean of Canterbury, Sidney (of Oxford), Headmaster of Eton, President of Oxford

of Manchester Union,

Union, President of No More War movement.

B. H. Liddell Hart, Capt Fuller, Reginald Reynolds. A. N. Whitehead.

Indians to whom to send the U V R book.

Bose, Tagore, Nanadas, Bajaj, Chandi, Rajagopalachari, Bombay Chronicle, K. M. Sen, Kaka, Ala Pocha, S. Sastri,

Indians in U.S.A. Sinha, Mukerjee, Hossain,

If Churchill & the Tories get defeated by the Govt in England they will take vengeance by doing their utmost to upset the Govt on other issues. The majority of Parl will uphold the Govt because the safeguards have been made so strong. The strength of the safeguards will be made so clear in the debate, that Indians will see clearly what British intents are & will be driven to unite.

The upset of a "riot" & shooting of Nationalists in Calcutta is just that has come through for months. It shows a strong undercurrent of Congress activity, that the plans are working up to form, that Govt is desperately opposed to Congress. It will enhance spirit of revolt all over the

country, & strengthen the Congress. Happening in a village is significant as showing the strength of the movement in general. The drop in Indian imports and exports is important for Jan. & Feb. The Congress sitting at this time will tend to strengthen the Churchill group or at least to enhance the emphasis on safeguards. The more the police shoot in India, the more united will India become, & the stronger will Congress become. It separates the sheep from the goats. Indian liberals, & Moslems who uphold the Govt cannot pose as patriots much longer. Presently the Indian boycott will strengthen again, and Br. business men in India will ~~of~~ begin really to lose hope. Many shootings will prevent Br. Labor Party from supporting the Govt

Ec of K book. Another ~~test~~ thing defect of money is that as a symbol it is so devious & intimate that common people no longer understand it and so it can be manipulated secretly so as to cause very serious social & individual effects.

Since values are systems of desires or wishes, rationalized, then E. B. Holt's saying that it is not the ends that control ~~men~~ men, but the wishes which are within ourselves, is a verification.

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make detailed list of groups of my friends & other people to whom to send notices of my book, if published. E.g. most of ~~all~~ the people from whom I quote, ministers, lawyers, doctors, classmates, college teachers,

YMCA & Scout leaders, student organizations
boy & girl school teachers, & c.

Ministers, Ogilby (2), Bonnie, Holmes, Rabbi Wise, Geo Stuart, Jim, Kimsbury, Fosdick, write World Tomorrow about this.

The fact that so many sharp tongued & hard people grow softer and more mellow ~~after~~ only after they have suffered proves the truth of Gandhi's belief that only suffering can move the heart.

The Indian Govts practice of locking up people instead of imprisoning them, in order to make outsiders think that C.D. is dying down, only serves to strengthen Congress by putting the suffering out in the open before everyone. That is probably even more true in the villages than in the cities. Partly the peasants will sweep the city crowd off their feet. The news of this is probably seeping into India sub rosa & accounts for the anxiety of Govt like Ghanem Khan, et al.

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Nov 30. That Labor Party has joined Select Com on India will help solidify Indian vs Govt. The heavy vote of H/C against releasing Indian political prisoners is a slap in Sapru as well as at the Congress.

The action of Paul

It will be taken as studied insult by patriotic Indians & will close the door to all hopes of yielding by Gr. Br. The few Indians who go to the Simla Pact Conf now will only be pretending patriotism. They go merely because they want capitalism & dread the loss of their positions. The Indian Moderates now have no influence left. Only a crowd of comfort-loving cowards. A few will break away & go over to Congress or into retirement. E.g. Sastri. The vote of H of C also makes it clear to most Moslems that the A.I. Moslem Conf line of attack will yield nothing. So that leaves the Congress as the sole hope. Most Indians will respond. The process of organising the country now coming apparently Congress now realises that as its task. That can go on in prison. Expect steady increase of agitation & repression all through the spring & perhaps a big upset in the

autumn.

Probably the drain of gold from India will continue till the peasants get sufficiently organised to revolt on a big scale.

Hon. V.S. Srinivasan Sastri
Svāgatam, Mylapore, Madras, India

To a certain extent the fact that a difference in degree, if big enough, is a difference in kind, may justify even Sheldon's idea that Gandhi does not use coercion because as an incident, compulsion results from his method. Compulsion on the will, yes, but not coercion.

The fact that in India the police beat people instead of arresting them, so that Sir S. Hoare can report a great "improvement in conditions" shows that the fault was much

needed more support at home. It showed that the India League was counting and that Govt was afraid of losing support both among Tories, who wanted rougher tactics, and among Labour + some Liberals, who were too much troubled by the atrocities. Govt thought they could be rough with the villagers and get away with it, because of lack of leaders. I think not. An attitude is being created which will make as much trouble for the proposed govt as for present one.

If Indian affairs get very brisk + into the papers during spring summer + autumn, that will help sell my book.

My N.Y.R. book needs to explain still more the idea of daily routine to make

definite habits, just like daily routine drill of a soldier. Daily routine in forming right sentiment; daily routine in constructive, social & sanitary programme.

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Hindustan Times, Bara Bartan Road, Delhi

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The Br. air flight over Mt. Everest is psychologically interesting as showing hunger for a symbol of fresh and greater dominance over India and over all the world. when people get hungry for symbols instead of realities it shows that subconsciously they realize that the reality is lost. Also Va think it will affect Indians, think it.

N V R book: must in note that this book is only about the validity of

power of the method.

Insert a corollary, that if we are going to have strong human unity there must no longer be insistence upon individual separateness & ∴ Causality is necessary

Insert a footnote reference to A.N. Whitehead's new book.

One reason why N.V.R. will be effective is because, all over the world, the farmers are non-collectivistic. ∴ They would always resist communism. But N.V.R. is also non-collectivistic. It will appeal to farmers & ~~still~~ also city workers, and tend to break down the cities.

If the right wing of the Congress wants to cooperate and Gout refuses to let them meet

even to discuss this, then they will not abandon their Congress membership but will turn some on the Gandhi + all its supporters and spend all their hopes on Gandhi's release. Gandhi thus narrows the circle of its supporters. amount of enlarging means stuff to Congress Right wing & end of Sapru hopes.

Otto - Mysticism East + West

Making Life Better - Ellwood Worcester

N V R Book - refer in notes to Ch VIII to my pamphlet as a definite plan of political action, subject to local variations

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Individual development of an attitude of non-violence develops the individual. So also do groups development of N.V. This is important for submerged groups.

See Seven Great Bibles - by A. N. Martin

It looks as if human progress is so slow that the best the individual can do is to develop his own inner attitudes & sentiments and make his practice N.V. and hope, by example, & practice and stimulus to groups to spread the idea & the practice. If Christ did so much with so small a start, think what an advance Gandhi has made & how great Gandhi's influence will be over the future.

Since inevitably there must be suffering when big changes are made, because of the loss & breakage of attachments, if the changes are to be made by persuasion, i.e. by N.V.A., the persuader must take the suffering on himself, or it will cease to be persuasion and become coercion.

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Prof A.N. Whitehead's new book —

Adventures of Ideas says that Gandhi's effectiveness is an illustration of the principle "discovered by Plato late in life - the principle, that is to say, that the divine element in the world is to be conceived as a persuasive agency and not as a coercive agency". Also that "This doctrine should be looked upon as one of the greatest intellectual discoveries in the history of religion."

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Sherwood Anderson - Dark Laughter, Liveright, New York.

—

Indian Moderate (one practically caught up with Gandhi's position and that of the Congress of a couple of years ago, in regard to dominion status.

Report in Manchester Guardian, Feb 25, 1933.

Emma Goldman addressed a meeting in Conway Hall, London, on Feb 24 on the necessity that revolution should be constructive. She said it would have to be violent because of the opposition to it.

"The most pernicious idea was that the end justified the means. Eventually the means became the end and the real end continued to recede. The Russian Soviet of course have Socialism in view, but their methods make it impossible. She insisted that Socialism was never further away in the world than it is today. ... The real aim of revolution is to bring about a new type of humanity with a high ethical social conscience and idea. The first step in revolution is to regenerate men and women."

It will not do to say that I am
live in luxury without have provided I
have no inner attachment. If I really
have no inner attachment then my
outer life must conform with and
confirm that inner simplicity & lack
of attachment by not having a lot
of things and comforts around me.
O thanks, I am not telling (writing) the
truth and I am corrupting my ~~mind~~
heart & mind by my body & senses,
getting into habits that will someday
break me.

The only permanent security a
person can have is close connection
with God and life-long service to men,-
especially the poor.

One great function of suffering is

MVR is to prove in advance to the opponent that he is not being asked to suffer any more by loss than the senator is in requesting the change. That is, the finances of the senator is proved in advance, and that does much to reconcile the opponent to considering + eventually to making the change demanded.

I should make gift copies of MVR book to the people mentioned in the ~~the~~ introduction, to Mrs. Bynum, Sonora McCurdy, F+F, Mr. G., Bynum, Ada Parker, Bynum, My S.S. teacher (?), Editor of Asia,

---

The H of C refused by so big a majority to release pilot prisoner is an confession of very great fear of Gandhi + the Congress.

God is now a resource because future implies idea of difference, of separation, of possible loss :. "Take no thought for the morrow".

April 12. That the Bp. Joint have nominated the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Joint Parl. Com. on India shows that they are beginning to fear church criticism; that the church people of England are beginning to be conscious thereby. It is a hopeful sign.

Advise those who would be leaders of V.V. movement to keep a note book of all their thoughts on V.V.R. As a stimulus & aid to their thinking & imagination.

Work out a study course on V.V.R. A list of books to read, including biographies, cultiva-

tion of sentiments, of intellectual understanding, meditation, putting sentiments into action, practice of imagination.

—

Re N.V.R. book — we have to have a practical constructive program in order to strengthen and give spring to the sentiment of love and prevent it from becoming sentimentality. Khaddar does this and also spreads the sentiment of humility.

—

Re good statement of failure of means: and see Horace M. Kallen's Individualism, an American Way of Life, Liveright, 1933. § 21 pp 144-154.

—

"Consent depends on consequences anticipated.

—

Since fear is fear of helplessness, prayer a

true religion get rid of our fear by making us feel close to the source of all power, - God, - thus ridding us of our sense of helplessness.

Quotation from A. N. Whitehead's
"Adventures of Ideas" - Macmillan 1933
Ch. X. The New Reformation. p. 205
Sec. I. "The theme of this chapter can be introduced by directing attention to a contrast. Protestant Christianity, so far as concerns the institutional and dogmatic forms in which it flourished for three hundred years as derived from Luther, Calvin, and the Anglican Settlement, is showing all the signs of a steady decay. Its dogmas no longer dominate: its divisions no longer intend: its institutions no longer direct the patterns of life. That is one side

of the contrast.

"In other words that the religious spirit as an effective element in the affairs of men has just (April, 1931) obtained one of its most signal triumphs. In India the forces of violence and strife, between rulers and people, between race, between religions, between social grades, - forces threatening to overwhelm with violence hundreds of millions of mankind - these forces have for the moment been halted by two men with the moral authority of religious conviction, the Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy of India [and Irwin].

"They may fail. More than two thousand years ago, the wisest of men proclaimed that the divine permission is the foundation of the order of the world, but that it could only produce such a measure of harmony

as mind limits force it was possible to accomplish. This, I suggest, is a plain interpretation by Plato of a doctrine of Grace, seven hundred years before the age of Pelagius and Augustine.

"But the dramatic event effected by Gandhi and the Viceroy, requiring as it does an effective response from unnumbered millions in India, in England, in Europe, and America, instructs that the religious motive, I mean the response to the divine persuasion, still holds its old power, even more than its old power, over the minds and consciences of men. In this response the protestant populations of the British Empire, and importantly, though more remotely, that of the United States, have sustained their part. We stand at a moment when the course

of history depends upon the calm reasonableness arising from a religious public opinion. An initial triumph has already been gained. ----

p. 213. -- "The first phase (~~the intellectual triumph~~) is constituted by Plato's publication of his final conviction, towards the end of his life,[2] that the divine element in the world is to be conceived as a persuasive agency and not as a coercive agency. This doctrine should be looked upon as one of the greatest intellectual discoveries in the history of religion. It is plainly enunciated by Plato, though he failed to coordinate it systematically with the rest of his metaphysical theory. -- The alternative doctrine, prevalent then and now, sees action in the many gods or the one God, the final coercive force wielding the thunder.

(2) Cf. The Soplist and the Timaeus.

By a metaphysical subsumption of this doctrine of God as the supreme agency of completion, he is transformed into the one supreme reality, ~~omnipotent~~ omnipotently disposing a wholly derivative world. Plato wavered inconsistently between these diverse conceptions. But he does finally enunciate without qualification the doctrine of the divine permission, by reason of which ideals are effective in the world and forms of order evolve.

C. 114 (complication)

"The second phase is the supreme moment in religious history, according to the Christian religion. The essence of Christianity is the appeal to the life of Christ as a revelation of the nature of God and of his agency in the world. The record is fragmentary, unmetrical, and uncertain. It is not necessary for me to

express any opinion as to the proper reconstruction of the most likely tale of historic fact. Such a procedure would be useless, without value, and entirely out of place in this book. But there can be no doubt as to what elements in the world have evoked a response from all that is best in human nature. The mother, the child, and the home-scene: the young man, homeless and self-forgetful, with his message of peace, love, and sympathy: the suffering, the agony, the tender words of life eternal, the final despair: and the whole with the authority of supreme victory.

"I need not elaborate. Can there be any doubt that the power of Christianity lies in its revelation in act, of that which Plato divined in theory?"

Since sentiments are so primarily important, if I want to influence people I should pay attention to development of right sentiments & attitudes. Also to stimulation of imagination. For this reason, write about Gandhi's personality.

—

On p. 31, end of Ch II of Whitehead's book, quoted above, is the sentence, — "In this way Plato is justified in his saying, 'The creation of the world — that is to say the world of civilized order — is the victory of persuasion over force'".

Again on p. 53 at end of Ch III. "Plato conceived the ideal notion of the social relations between men based upon a conception of the intrinsic possibilities of human character. — at times it sinks down. But

it was reason. It is civilized, and it is also a civilizer. Force is always against it. Its victory is the victory of persuasion over force. The force is the clear fact of what the antecedent volume of the world in fact contains. The idea is a prophecy which procures its own fulfilment. ... The story of Plato's idea is the story of its winning within a hostile environment. It has a creative power, making possible its own approach to realization."

And at p. 195, in Ch. V "From Force to Persuasion" he says,

"The creation of the world - said Plato - is the victory of persuasion over force. The worth of men consists in their liability to persuasion. They can persuade and be persuaded by the disclosure of alternatives, the better and the worse. Civilization is the maintenance of social order,

by its own inherent permanence as embodying the noblest sentiments. The recourse to force, however unavoidable, is a disclosure of the failure of civilization, either in the general society or in a remnant of individuals. Thus in a live civilization there is always an element of unrest. For restlessness to idles means anxiety, adventure, change. Civilized order survives on its merits, and is transformed by its power of recognizing its imperfections.

"Now the intercourse between individuals and between social groups takes one of two forms, force or persuasion. Commerce is the great example of intercourse in the way of persuasion. War, slavery and governmental compulsion exemplify the the reign of force. The

weakness of the two Eastern civilizations consisted in their large reliance upon force. --- (138-9)
The compelling dominion of man over man has a double significance. It has a benign effect so far as it serves the combination of human energy for social welfare. But it is fatal to extend this dominion beyond the barest limits necessary for this combination. The progressive societies are those which most decisively have limited themselves to the fourth factor which is the way of persuasion. Amidst all the activities of mankind those in these which chiefly have promoted this last factor in human life. They are family affections centered in sex relations, and in the nurture of children, intellectual curiosity leading to enjoyment in the interchange of ideas, and — as soon as large-scale societies arose — the practice of Commerce. But beyond these social

activities a greater kind of sympathy than since. This kind is the growth of reverence for that power in virtue of which nature harbours ideal ends, and produces individual beings capable of conscious discrimination of such ends. This reverence is the foundation of the respect for man as man. It thereby means that liberty of thought and action, required for the upward adventure of life on this Earth".

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Sometimes propose a course of reading and exercises for acquiring understanding & discipline of W.W.R. - an enlargement of my last 2 chapters in book. Inquire re X in mine discipline.

—

Apr. 16. I think that the defeat of the

Churchillians will drive them into intrigue, especially in India. The Joint itself has won its points by manipulation of persons, keeping the outward forms very respectable and unobjectionable. There will be considerable intrigue in the Joint Committee and with the Indians invited to it as official and unofficial witnesses & hangers-on. The mell will percolate through England and help to disgust decent people. From 3 or more corners in the past week there is the talk of a new election. With the present gulf of months that may take place before the Indian Constitution is brought to Parl for enactment. Perhaps the Churchillians will work for that, - with the constituencies. If it comes the Tories will lose much of their present power, enough to create a considerable shift in Indian policy.

If the Br. struggle up very close to the U.S., and my book gets published & makes a fair sale, it will have effect in England. both with Labour Party & with Govt.

X's form of prayer, - thanking God that desired results have already been granted, - lays emphasis on the recovery of eternal things. But doesn't that apply only to spiritual things?

Things I might write about: -

1. Careful explanation of scientific errors for Clark dict.
2. An arrangement of all of Gandhi's writings on N.V.R., divided under appropriate headings
3. A sketch of Gandhi's character.
4. An outline of daily discipline and training for N.V.R.

5.

Perhaps the habits of a higher standard of living in America among the masses will compel a greater disgorging of power by financiers & middle class than has been attained in Europe, in this time of when debts have got to be scaled down in order that society may exist. On the other hand, perhaps the further extension of industrialism in America has made the people even more docile than elsewhere

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The India Bulletin, published by the Friends of India (Room 22), 46, Lancaster Gate, London, W 2. President Lawrence Housman; Ed. board, Will Hayes, Alma S. Kenbaie. Monthly Price 1d. Begin with Jan 1933. yearly 2 s. 6 months 1 s. incl. postage.

Isolation from "The City of Perfection" by
T. L. Masson - Century Co. 1907.

"The real difficulty with too many is that they have no invisible means of support."

XVII "Conduct is everything. The rule is absolute; namely, to replace a sense of the transient with a sense of the permanent. This is true sublimation. Thus we live above desire." ~~Satisfy~~

XVIII. "The mark of our progress is revealed when we begin to be grateful for spiritual things and not for material things."

XIX. "Finally, it is our attitude that counts, so far as our responsibility and our victory over the world are concerned. What we do, practically and actually, is determined by our previous attitude. --- Thus our sole business is not to ask but to understand how God acts. --

"The fact that anything is demonstrated and determined by thought is such a mathematical certainty that it can be checked up in the same way that a road map can be traced back to the place where one came from. And if anything about us is the result of thought, then it must be evident that in case of imperfections or limitations they can be healed by thought."

36. - "To me reality, that is actuality, is only that which persists. .... Reality therefore, consists alone in ideas (Platonic)."

39. "If you will summon up all your courage to face reality at any moment when in trouble, you will be surprised to see that your actual, real condition is not only quite different from what you supposed, but that your decision has removed you at once to a safety-isle. The trouble

your fear always lies in the future. The real is the present. Face reality and nothing can hurt you."

48. "If consciousness were not always changing, we should shortly lose it. The very condition upon which it functions is that of constant change." [We lose consciousness in sleep when it changes. So we are usually unconscious of God, simply because he never changes.]

57. ["Because we are parts of the World Soul, thoughts are not originated by us but come to us from it.] "The understanding of this truth is what gives us power; that is, it makes us the receivers, but not the originators, of power! We do not make power; we hold it in proportion as we understand our own material nothingness.

77 "'If you love and serve men, you cannot by any hiding or stratagem escape the consecration' - Ralph Waldo Emerson.

83. "Success is due to a succession of failures".

90. "Never be afraid to make a mistake, for the reason that a mistake, being evil, cannot hurt you. It destroys itself. All mistakes are educators + beginners.

99. "If you are dealing with God alone, you don't have to worry about the complicated things which you never could solve anyway. All you have to do is to look to God for the answer. In other words, you turn your whole thought away from this complicated mass of speculation, and towards perfection. I warn you in advance that this is not easy. The hardest thing we can do does not lie in any physical activity, but in thought. When, in the midst of disaster, when

finite possibly you don't know where the next cent is coming from, to sit still and turn your thought toward just an idea - this is very difficult. Yet the instant you do this, your whole problem is solved.

"One of the first things that experience teaches us is that if we are afraid, our fear is communicated in what seem to be uncanny manner, and the people we are afraid of come down upon us. Also, others that we have forgotten come down upon us. For that trouble. When we are backed up against a wall and begin to face those phantoms, they vanish. Nobody can really get us. . . Thought is communicated everywhere, like radio energy.

"It is an enormous mistake to suppose that

God is vain, and he expects to be praised all the time. God is infinite. He doesn't need your praise; he needs your service. He knows that you are praising him by working for him. He is not fooled by your pretensions.

113. "Prayer is always answered, but only in one way; by the solution of your problem in thought. Praying to have some difficulty solved in the way you think it should be solved is worse than useless. Praying to know why there is such a difficulty will always be answered. Want to know is always followed by Here it is

113. The discomfort of replacement [of the mortal sense of things by a spiritual sense of things] is what we term suffering

118. "We help others most by spiritualizing our own thought, by adjusting ourselves to the things of God. ---- Our best thought

start on its way, and nothing can stop it until it is externalized in some outward form or action. It is along this line that fatalism is impossible and undesirable. But fate will always lies in the original choice in thought. And this initial decision does not lie so much in any deliberate, unpremeditated thought, as it does in a longing for something better, as typified in the exclamation, 'Lord, help Thou my unbelief'! As soon as one thus determines to turn away from the flesh, and - with possibly many doubts & misgivings - falters and hesitates but nevertheless does declare one intention, help then comes. And it need not be the help which many Christians are up, waiting for, but on the contrary it is the help which shows us how to help

ourselves. Thus we begin our long journey
upwards".

pp. 122-3 "All that we have comes directly from
God, and when we seem to have it, it does
not really belong to us. There is no such
thing as actual possession.

"Look at any time, you have had a secret feeling
of envy at the sight of another man who
seems to have many possessions. Dismiss the
thought from your mind. It is not true.
The only way in which you actually possess
anything is that place it occupies in your
eternal consciousness.

"You possess nothing at all except what you
have previously thought of. This thought
took the form of a desire for this particular
thing. In time the desire was materialized.

"Your thought, in all cases, determines what
you have. If that is true (you say) why is it

that we do not have everything we want!
Because our thought is limited.

"We do not originate our thought. It lies internally in our consciousness, and is a part of the universal mind. A desire for anything at all is projected upon the plane of our internal consciousness, and by an immutable law, it is eventually materialized (apparently externally) in precise mathematical proportion to the force of the desire. We have seen men, in all ages and climates, overcome the most apparently impossible obstacles and eventually achieve their desires.

"It is not what we ourselves create that counts; it is what we release in ourselves, through faith, what we allow to enter by our own understanding — that is what really counts. We therefore cannot possibly possess

anything, but it always possesses us, in exact proportion to the space it occupies in our internal consciousness. ---- We are possessed, not possessors. Have forgot that." ...

124. "It must be evident, even upon the slightest meditation, that your two possessions are what you think, and that, inasmuch as what you seem to have (materially) is only the result of what you have previously thought, then you necessarily exclude yourself from everything of which you have not thought. Do you not see, therefore, that if another man has something which you have not, it is only because you have not thought about it and he has? ... The reason why it is commonly stated that selfishness is bad, is simply because a desire which springs from selfishness is based on something which is fleeting.

125. "It is a seeming mysterious law, but in reality a perfectly simple and absolute one, that God takes care of us in proportion as our thought is away from the ephemeral; that is, is concentrated on the permanent things, instead of the fleeting."

127. --- "The one thing which public opinion will not tolerate is cowardice. "To overcome discord, any trouble whatever, turn away from it, deny it. It was on the basis of eternal spiritual reality and complete understanding that Christ exclaimed to Satan, "get thee behind me!"

When you follow these directions (to think of God when in trouble) you are used. The Unknown uses you. The Unknown always steps in and carries you through."

134 "We overcome a temptation by removing the thought of it from our internal consciousness and we do this by walking with God; that is, by being God-controlled."

136. Temptation depends entirely upon internal desire. --It springs from the consciousness. The outward act of yielding is the necessary consequence. --- The real sins lie in thought and have little to do with the outward acts made necessary in order that society may protect itself. --- They are suspicion, envy, lewdness, hatred, covetousness, ambition, carnal selfishness, all these being the result of worldly attachments. From these issue all the externalized sins committed.

154. "It is you the unknown and not the known that we must always depend for support."

165. "It is the idea that you have, or have had

that are supporting you. It is not your actual words. It is always your ideas.

"Let us suppose that the Truth, considered as a whole, is - just true, - & that the true is constantly throwing off flying seeds. Let us say that these flying seeds are always floating about - the spiritual atmosphere, in anticipation of falling upon the right soil. Now these seeds are ideas. They come from numbers. If your soil - your, that is, if you have detached yourself from the known, then you are ready to receive them. And as you receive them, they grow of their own accord, and support you. ~~You are here a teacher or a professor, this~~ You must keep your soil (your thoughts) clean.

167. "If you plant a seed in your vegetable garden, you do nothing else but keep the soil clear of weeds, & the thing grows up and supports you by just so much. You do nothing to the seed.

you mourn the limitations, that's all. Remove your own limitations, and there is nothing which cannot be accomplished through you. [An idea is ~~not~~ more than a servant] "it is more like the relation of a companion or a helper. And it means you look on you."

208 - "A skeptic is in reality a critic. He does not say 'I do not know,' but, 'you do not know.'

Re detailed methods of meditation see "The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius" (Catholic) "The Training of Devotion" (Anglican) or "The Way of Perfection" by St. Theresa (Catholic) Cf also Ch. V in "Meaning and Value of Mysticism" by E. Herman. --

243. "All thought is instantly communicated. --- If I think thoughts of hatred against anyone, invariably those thoughts come back to me in some externalized form. They may be delayed, but they always come back. Also, if I think

thought of love and of encouragement, these thoughts come back to me. In distributing gifts, therefore, I have discovered for myself that it is much more important to do this identity than it is materially. -- Suppose I have a misunderstanding with some one. If, instead of cherishing a thought of resentment, I try to myself that perhaps after all I may be mistaken, and bless him instead of cursing him, invariably the misunderstanding is straightened out within a short time. --

252. "Hatred, resentment, envy, pride, self-pity, covetousness, and lying are everywhere secretly encouraged and directly denounced and coddled by the churches, while universally practiced by individuals. These are the real sins. Drunkenness and divorce, theft, murder, and so on are the

outward externalized forms of their mind and mentality. Your attachment to thought are therefore what count, what determine your destiny. -- God requires absolute self-surrender and detachment from everything from your loved ones, family, friends, possessions and material self."

281. (Jesus) made small distinction between sin and disease, except to indicate very plainly that sin is the cause of disease. He knew and said plainly, that sin was wrong thought". --Paul's erroneous conception of sin he shunned the picture".

Our way of freedom, our remedy, "lies wholly in our thought, through self-discipline".

298 "Any physical healing can only take place first in thought and record in the acquiescence of the individual involved.

302. "We must awaken that the great mystery

were not physically well. Many of them died young. It was said that this was due to exposure and the like. It was not. It was due to certain externalized forms of inward spiritual force. Also: equal distributions, exposures. No one can read the internal records of many of the mystics without perceiving this. In my case, this was for me that they might be too happy: they considered it wrong to be free from a sense of sin. --- Almost all ailments come from unfulfilled desires. And these desires are due to a spiritual lack. You cannot replace a spiritual lack with material things.

307. "Disease must come to me in my thought first and always, before it can be manifested or externalized - on or on my body. When it is thus externalized and I become aware of

it, I cannot always remove it at once, because my thought spiritualization may itself be defective. ... If you want to be free from illness, let your mind be completely occupied with the permanent, the real, the unchanging. Evil cannot then touch you." ~~You will be~~

332. "Spiritual power comes through mental fullness. ... There can be no fullness in any direction without an emptying of power. The very illusion of fullness is the protective coloring necessary to make the power flow through one.

341. "Power is ~~only~~ repose. ... It is doing nothing practically. ... It is merely an involuntary withholding from action. We are powerful in so far as we are permanent, and we are permanent in so far as we are passive.

349 "By faith I mean an absolute reliance upon God, in such a manner that our feelings are directed by God; that is, under his constant guidance. The

means that we ourselves must carry out what we are directed to do, to the minutest detail, and it means nothing more. We then have quite enough to do. Indeed there is no time for anything else.

378 "We learn truth by meditation, by experience, by suffering, and also by joy, not by any mental process."

See Mrs. Eddy's "Unity of Good." Two more books. "Studies in Character" by Conal Norton. Emerson Essays. "The Cloud of Unknowing". "The Dark Night of the Soul" by St John of the Cross. Pilgrim Prayers. The Oxford Book of English Verse. Wordsworth's "Prelude"

364. Five Rules of E. B. Pusey

"Allow thyself to complain of nothing, not even of the weather.

"Never picture thyself under any circumstances in which thou art not.

"Never compare thine own lot with that of another.

"Never allow thyself to dwell on the wish that this or that had been, or were, otherwise than it was, or is. God Almighty loves thee better and more wisely than thou dost thyself.

"Never dwell on the morrow. Remember that it is God's, not thine. The heaviest part of sorrow often is to look forward to it — 'The Lord will provide'.

Books on Mysticism

Edward Upton Waldron — "The Philosophy of Mysticism" (Waldron)
William James — Varieties of Religious Experience
James H. Leuba — Psychology of Religious Mysticism
(Graham Wallas) — Art of Thought.
Dean Inge — Platonism

Evelyn Underhill - Essentials of Mysticism

Bertrand Russell - Mysticism & Logic.

Rufus Jones - Studies in Mystical Religion

~~Swedenborg~~ Swedenborg.

Charles A. Bennett, "A Philosophical Study of Mysticism" 1923.

Dom Cuthbert Butler - "Western Mysticism"

A. Wautier d'Ygalliers - "Ruysbroeck the Admirable"

Emile Gebhart - Mysticism & Humanism - Italy

E. Herman - "The Meaning & Value of Mysticism" (1911 London)

Von E. Hocking - "The Meaning of God in Human Experience"

Peers, E. Allison - "Spanish Mysticism" 1924

Baron Friedrich Von Hugel - The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in St Catherine of Genoa (1923)

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"A Writer Should Be Poor."

Sherwood Anderson, whose new book, "Death in the Woods," has just been published by Liveright, discussed money and writing yesterday. He is not at all sure, he said, that money is good for a writer.

"I made some money back in 1924-25," he said, "and it knocked me out for two years. I couldn't get into the swing of writing what I wanted to write. After all, I write about people who are a little hungry, a little ragged, and if I'm too far away from their general situation I don't work right. I have a whole new picture of life when I have some money, and it isn't a change that is good for me."

He has a theory that the public in general likes to read first-rate fiction, but that most are frightened away from it by being "hammered at."

"When I was running my country newspapers down in Virginia, I'd print every now and then some story by Poe or De Maupassant that I liked," he said. "I didn't write any essay telling them they should like the stories and why. I just ran the stories.

"Now the names of those authors don't mean anything at all down there. Most of my readers, I'll swear, had never heard of them. But they liked the stories first rate. They'd like the same quality in the movies if they could get it. They are really interested in the movies, you see, thinking about them, and talking about them. And they would like good, real stories."

He has just returned from a tour of the Middle West. Some of his time he spent standing in breadlines, sitting with men on park benches and railroad embankments, discussing the state of the country. He is convinced there will be no group action for radical change in government.

"No matter how far down and out an American workman is," he said, "he always is sure that his luck will change. He doesn't want a revolution because he is always sure that if one comes he will be one of the gang standing blindfolded against a wall."

Book Reviving

April 22. The news in tonight's paper that Norman Montagu has just abandoned at Marseilles a trip to India indicates probably that he was going out to prepare for the proposed reserve bank of India. That means perhaps that he is trying to speed matters so as actually get the bank running. Maybe the abandonment of gold by U.S. will spur Indian reserve bank plans or not remains to be seen. But it will probably set them back by a month or maybe even more. That month may count a lot. Possibly it may mean that Montagu was considering changing the Indian rupee rate or modifying the gold basis, or finding out whether he had better

not do so. It betokens that Br. plans leave you very much away, anyhow. There will be a struggle between different groups in England regarding policy. Apparently many of the leaders Tories want to go in for an economic struggle with U.S., a scramble of debasing the currencies. Probably that will not prevail. But there will be some big re-alignments in Br. ~~govt~~ finance & govt. If Br. decides to postpone her struggle with U.S. & temporarily yield, it will postpone many of her plans, including, probably, some re India. It will be apt to mean further delay in India, with adverse effects to Br. power.

The Soviet trade was very poor more important than at first thought. Br prestige is falling. Poland-Polish loan; Russia

differ here; Japan checks here, commercially and militarily in China; India struggles in here; U.S. seems to have spoiled her financial manoeuvres. U.S. now may back up previous financial rebuke of France & Gr. Br. It tends to pay Argentina loan from Gr. Br., & perhaps Canada, too, a little.

Only by inflation & relief from debt can capitalism carry on in U.S. In England & Europe the workers' present can be translated into more poverty. But so in U.S. Going off gold tends to put us on our own resources & free us of European financial claims. It is probably a big step toward freeing the world of gold myth & bad symbolism. A step toward managed currency everywhere.

England has been trying to dominate the world by manipulations of old symbols and old values. America is slipping out by disregarding the gold symbol, - playing England's own game

∴ probably destined to lose.

Frances own game, but more boldly. Old values & symbols are being tossed aside in Russia & India, & perhaps also in America If they only get well abandoned, the world will take a new lease of life.

Dr. Guthrie of St Marks, New York says "Faith is not fidelity to tradition. Faith is a word whose activity comes largely from within. I conceive of it as meaning 'I persuade myself' or more aptly, 'I in the unconscious persuade my conscious self':

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and sentiments & impulses & bitterness:

Regrets, after failures of human relationships or activities, are probably due to the recognition of confusion & conflicts of values & attachments to inconsistent values. The remedy is to turn inward, clarify our values, make

our choice, and then set to work and steadily encourage, build up, stimulate the choice we have made, with all its implications. Concentrate the imagination on it.

Concentrating my imagination on a topic is how I have written all that I have done.

Quotations from A. N. Whitehead's "Adventures of Ideas" - Macmillans 1933.

p. ~~61~~ 60. "~~Thus~~ Wisdom is persistent pursuit of the deeper understanding, even confronting intellectual system with the importance of its omissions. -- The folly of intelligent people, clear-headed and narrow-visioned, has precipitated many catastrophes.

70. "Centuries, sometimes thousands of years, have to elapse before thought can capture action."

99. "It is a false dichotomy to think of Nature and Man. Mankind is that factor in Nature which explicits in its most intense form the plasticity of Nature.

100. "Four factors which decisively govern the fate of social groups. First, there stands the inexorable law that apart from some transcendent aim the civilized life either wallows in pleasure or relapses slowly into a barren repetition with waning intensities of feeling. Secondly, there stands the iron compulsion of nature that the bodily necessities of food, clothing and shelter be provided. The rigid limits which are thereby set to modes of social existence can only be mitigated by the growth of an understanding by which the interplay between man and the rest of nature can be adjusted. Thirdly, the compulsory dominion of men over men has

a double significance. It has a benign effect so far as it secures the combination of behaviour necessary for social welfare. But it is fatal to extend this dominion beyond the barest limits necessary for this combination. The prosperous societies are those which have most decisively limited themselves to the fourth factor which is the way of persuasion. (cf p. 67 a above).

123.--The Science mind of the future. In the first place it is fundamental that there be a power of conforming to routine, of appreciating routine, of criticising routine, and of understanding routine both as to its internal structure and as to its external purposes."

153. Plato said "I hold that the definition of being is simply power". [cf Satyagraha]

164. "Metaphysical understanding guides imagination and justifies purpose. Apart from metaphysical presupposition there can be

no civilization":

284. "The relevance of evidence is dictated by theory".

309. "Truth is a qualification which applies to appearance alone. Reality is just stuff, and it is nonsense to ask whether it be true or false. Truth is the conformation of appearance to reality. This conformation may be more or less, also direct or indirect. Thus Truth is a generic quality with a variety of degrees and modes.

313. "It is more important that a proposition be interesting than that it be true. -- For the measure of operation of a proposition in an occasion of experience is its interest, and is its importance. But of course a true proposition is more apt to be interesting than a false one. Also action in accordance with the emotional lure of a propo-

ation is more apt to be successful if the proposition be true.

332. -- "Even perfection will not bear the tedium of indefinite repetition. To attain a civilization with the intensity of its first ardour requires more than training. Adventure is essential, namely the search for new perfection." ---- "Spontaneity, originality of decision, belong to the essence of each actual occasion. It is the supreme expression of individuality; its conformal subjective form is the freedom of enjoyment derived from the enjoyment of freedom. Freedom, real and the ultimate source of intensity arise from it."

341. "--- Beauty is a wider, and more fundamental, notion than truth. --- Beauty is the internal conformation of the various elements of experience with each other, for the production of maximum effectiveness. Beauty thus concerns

the inter-relations of the various components of Reality, and also the inter-relations of the various components of Appearance, and also the relations of Appearance to Reality. Thus, any part of experience can be beautiful. The teleology of the Universe is directed to the production of Beauty. Thus any system of things which in any wide sense is beautiful is to that extent justified in its existence. It may however fail in another sense, by inhibiting more beauty than it creates. Thus the system, though in a sense beautiful, is on the whole evil in that environment. But Truth has a narrower meaning in two ways. First, Truth, in any important sense, merely concerns the relations of appearance to Reality. ~~But~~ It is the 'conformation of

appearance to Reality. But in the second place, the notion of 'conformation' in the case of Truth is narrower than that in the case of Beauty. For the truth relation requires that the two sets have some factor in common".

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348. " The merit of Art in its service to civilization lies in its artificiality and its finiteness. It explicates for consciousness a finite fragment of human effort achieving its own perfection within its own limits. Thus the mere toil for the obvious purpose of prolonging life for more toil or for more bodily gratification, is transformed into the conscious realization of a self-contained end, timeless within time. The work of art is a fragment of nature with the mark on it of finite creative effort, so that it stands alone, an individual thing detached from the vague

infinity of its background. Thus art heightens the sense of humanity. It gives an elation of feeling which is supernatural. A smut is glorious, but it dwarfs humanity and belongs to the general flow of nature. A million smuts will not give a man towards civilization. It requires Art to evoke into consciousness the finite perfections which lie ready for human achievement.

349 ..") - it taught me, not is civilization. For civilization is nothing else than the unremitting aim at the major perfections of harmony.

[The work of art] unlocks depths of feeling from behind the frontier where precision of consciousness fails. ... The origin of art lies in the craving for re-creation. In some mode of repetition we end by our personal actions.

or perceptions, to domesticate the past and the future, so as to re-live the emotional life of ourselves, and of our ancestors. --(350) The secret of art lies in its freedom. The emotion and some elements of the experience itself are lived again divorced from their necessity. The strain is over but the joy of intense feeling remains. --- The concept of Art as the pursuit of Beauty is shallow. Art has a creative function in human experience; when it reveals as in a flash intimate absolute Truth regarding the nature of things. .... Art performing this great service belongs to the process of civilization.

—

355. "I put forward as a general definition of civilization, that a civilized society is exhibiting the five qualities of Truth, Beauty, Adventure, Art, Peace.

"Here by the last quality of Peace, I am not

opening to political relations. I mean a quality of mind steady in its vibrance that fine action is treasured in the nature of things."

In regard to Adventure and Art "prevalent concepts of civilization are weakest."

--. "Civilization is more than the appreciation of the Fine Arts":

~~"The foundation of all understanding of~~

~~civilization~~

"Satire is the last flicker of originality in a passing epoch as it fears the onset of staleness and boredom. Fairness has gone; staleness remains."

360. "A race preserves its vigour so long as it harbours a real contrast between what has been and what may be; and so long as it is moved by the vigour to adventure beyond the safeties of the past. Without adventure civilization is in full decay.

"It is for this reason that the definition of culture as the knowledge of the best that has been said and done, is so dangerous by reason of its omission. It omits the great fact that in this day the great achievements of the past were the adventures of the great. Only the adventurous can understand the greatness of the great. --- Thus a genuine knowledge of the past loses the whole value of its message.

367. ---- "The Peace that is here meant is not the negative conception of unselfishness. It is a positive feeling which crowns the 'life and motion' of the soul. It is hard to define and difficult to speak of. It is not a hope for the future, nor is it an interest in present details. It is a wondering feeling due to the emergence of some deep metaphysical insight, unanalysed and yet momentous in its coordination of values.

Its first effect is the removal of the stress of acquisitive feeling arising from the soul's preoccupation with itself. Thus Peace carries with it a surprising sense of personality. There is an invasion of relative values. It is primarily a trust in the offing of Beauty. It is a sense that finiteness of achievement is as it were hung midway between the known nature of things and hyp unrealized. There is thus involved a grasp of infinitude, an appeal beyond boundaries. Its emotional effect is the subsidence of turbulence which inhibits. More accurately, it preserves the springs of energy: and at the same time creates them for the avoidance of paralysing distractions. The trust in the self-justification of Beauty introduces faith, where reason fails to

(self-subsistence)

reveal the details. --- Paris is self-centred at its midst, - at the midst where the self has been lost, and intent has been transferred to considerations under them personality. --- One of its fruit is that passion, whose existence Hume denied, the love of mankind as such.

--- Apart from empire, intensity of feeling collapses.

370. "The means of language in conveying information is vastly over-rated, especially in learned circles. Not only is language highly elliptical, but also nothing can supply the defect of first-hand experience of types cognate to the things explicitly mentioned. The general truth of Hume's doctrine as to the necessity of first-hand impressions is impossible:

-- "Youth is peculiarly susceptible to appeals for

beauty of conduct. It understands motives which presuppose the irrelevance of its own person. Such motives are understood as contributing to the magnification of its own interests. Its very search for personal experience thus elicits impersonality, self-forgetfulness. ~~Love pass~~ -- to

371 "When youth has once grasped where Beauty dwells - with a real knowledge and not as a mere matter of literary phraseology in some poetic, scriptural, or psychological version - when youth has once grasped, its self-surrender is absolute. The vision may pass. It may turn consciousness in a flash. Some natures may never permit it to emerge into attention. But youth is peculiarly liable to the vision of that Peace, which is the harmony of the soul's activities

with ideal aims that lie beyond any personal satisfaction."

"The vigour of civilized societies is preserved by the wide-spread sense that high aims are worth-while. Vigorous societies harbour a certain extravagance of objectives, so that men wander beyond the safe provision of personal gratifications."

If the Indian politicians agree to follow Congress & cooperate with England, their cowardice and their greed will make them forget and they will have no respect from the people of their own or other countries. Everybody jumps on the coward, and the coward's arms is always lost.

I could drop off most of the last 2 days

of my book and thus make it seem less threatening because less practical; and then publish them later as a separate pamphlet or enlarge them into a small book.)( )
so that I try to enlarge the appeal to moral beauty. My book does not have enough emphasis on moral and spiritual beauty; it does not say enough about the power of that aesthetic appeal, especially to youth. Perhaps to write such a one requires more realization on my part, and more understanding by me of the relationships and workings of love. M.V.K. appeals to the desire for moral beauty.)( )
should change the chaps on preparation, try to bring out that ~~factor cause~~. factor as an explicit reason for dwelling so much on element of love. My book

is an attempt by me to fill in the details of the basis for faith in N.V.R. Perhaps emphasizing the truth element in N.V.R., & perhaps insert last part of Emma Goldman quote in the chap on ~~Nature~~ Class Struggle. Perhaps insert reference to Tolstoi's books.

Even if Gandhi should die before Indian freedom is finally won, the reform of Hinduism he is creating will have its political result and the discipline of N.V. effort will help in the ultimate struggle. Untouchable reform will stimulate K work. ~~Non violent struggle~~ The unifying of India will make India more effective for social reform of all kinds. The present will be more solid. There is no such immense social reform as this going on in England. Therefore Br power relative to India is decreasing. Apparently public opinion in England is

changing rapidly, & to Bradford, & the Tories are weakening. If it has changed greatly in 2 months, as he says, the rate of change is not likely to slow down. Hence, if the consideration of Indian Constitution lasts all of 1933, a 8 months more, there may be an upset of the joint before the bill can be enacted.

If times get better in the west, the contact with India will be still more glaring than now and this will make Indians still more determined to win freedom. The Unknown will free India.

N.V.R. dramatizes spiritual truths and it is a form of art.

The question might be raised whether India has yet purified herself enough to

win. In relation to ~~England~~ N.V. India has always been purer than England. In relation to social solidarity India is not yet far behind England, but it is increasing in India and decreasing in England, and that difference in tendencies will persist until victory is won. The number who have actually suffered for conscience, with the N.V., in India is so many hundreds of thousands, that the spiritual effect is convincing, I believe. Because the suffering has not stopped. The Indian Liberals out of conviction may consent to work the proposed Constitution, but if it comes into effect they will work it always in opposition to Br. The new generation who are growing up will be more hostile to Br. Br than the old crowd who will soon be off stage

Subhas Chandra Bose

Sanatorium Dr. Furth, Vienna

Mar 1933

Jawaharlal Nehru - Dehra Dun Jail.

May 1. The news has just come of Gandhi's intended fast to purify India because of the untouchability evil. It seems almost impossible that he can live, though by some miracle it is possible. The fast certainly will purify India. Not only will it give immense impetus to the removal of untouchability so as only to end that evil, but also it will purify all Indian life in all communities and thereby ensure Swaraj. It will heal all the communal frauds, wipe away the leadership of all the scheming selfish individuals, throw up

their rashness, to give immense impetus to all elements of G's program. The issue being entirely clear cut, - no confusion of Br. with Indians, - the shame upon the Govt for imprisoning so pure a character will strike home to all decent Englishmen. No matter how they may wriggle or squirm, they never can recover self-respect or respect of others if Gandhi dies in jail. It shames them and their programme completely. They will clamber about Bapu being threatened, but nevertheless the complete sincerity of the act will dominate the situation. So it will purify England and the world, as well as India. It is possible therefore that Br. Govt may release him, but it will have to do so unconditionally. But whether they

release him or not, - if he dies in this fast the act will arouse undying opposition of India to Br. rule. The powers will ever be devoted to him & sympathy of the townsmen also to sway Gov. Br out of the heart of Indians.

Entire Govt of the Islands will now be condemned further, & their cowardice more clearly shown. This will touch courage to all Indians.

India has continued to be too disunited to win her freedom. The steady continuance of Br plans and the continued cringing of Indians under it has shown this. This will make real hunt unity at last. Of that I feel sure. Somehow I do not feel terribly sad. Perhaps because this surely victory

for Gandhi's principles and for the Indian struggle. It will embarrass the Br. Govt terribly. Coming at this ~~climbing~~ time of strain & crisis in western politics it will make all white civilization ashamed, & help to purify it. All Xns who ~~all through~~ know ~~not~~ the story of Christ will then be reminded of it.

If Govt lets him out unconditionally, on the lines, it will mean scrapping the entire present Govt program. Indeed, the whole White Paper scheme will have to be abandoned anyhow, for the changes in India between now and next autumn will be so vast as to make the scheme of no use to Govt. Br.

Br. Govt does not want him to die because they know he is the surest guarantee of order that there is. Even some of the more short-sighted Englishmen in the

Br. army in India might like violence & fighting so that they could prove the army there to be important, but the wise minds do not want it, for it would harm trade & Br. posting commodity. Even Winston Churchill says that Br. army must not be used, as Indians, if it can possibly be avoided.

So this fear among Br. may make them reverse their policy, followed this year, & not opposition to the nationalists' efforts. If Br. withdraws all the Cows which it forcibly prevent longer entry, and bought pressure to bear on orthodox Hindus & really compel their efforts; I think Jr. Life might

he saved.

He is doing it on intuition, and his previous intuitions have proved true and worked wonderfully. He not only knows the Indian mind and heart, he is as Dr. Mukerji says, the epitome of the Indian mind and heart at its finest. Indians respond to him because he is their own best self embodied. This attempt of his is really an attempt of India to purify herself and revivify her national spirit. No such utterly sincere and utterly unselfish effort is made by any other leaders of any other nation. The most contrast will do much to restore Indian national self-respect.

May 4. Indian Islands & Burmese men were preparing to cooperate with England, assuming that the Japs plans would go

through and that Congress could not prevent it or change the situation. How Gandhi has altered it, round the opposition again, and shamed these other group leaders.

There may be widespread hostile ~~demonstrations~~ this fast last autumn. Indian leaders will all be frightened as to what may happen if Gandhi dies. Liberals on both sides between terror of Congress control and terror of loss of Gandhi's control, for the latter would, therefore, mean sudden disorder. They know, too, that Gandhi insists on Congress testing them regularly. So if he goes, they will lose prestige & position grow risky, - risky in ways that Gp. Br could not protect them against. So they are driven again to make another hard moral choice. Being cowards, they will funk it; and their funk

will be done to Br as well as to Indians, & so they will get bullied around by everyone.

Gandhi's sitting quiet in jail & restraining people from violence, was in a way helping the Govt & also supporting the Indian cause. Now that support has been removed. As the fact goes on & Govt grows weaker & weaker, the terror of Indian leaders, especially outside Congress will increase. Govt will grow expedingly nervous, & English-men will grow more & more ashamed. That shame will last, - whether he lives or dies. As the fast is unconditional & is aimed at purification only, no action can be taken to stop it & people's thoughts will be turned inward in shame & remorse. The Indians going to London will at least be made more sensitive of Indian self-respect & more touchy as to Br treatment & proposals.

The self respect of Congress will be increased & also its stupid workers who have been insulted in word & action & act. reform will be ensured & planned. Probably many more temples will be opened & more schools wells, roads & all sorts of other facilities & privileges afforded to the depressed classes. Indian women will redouble their work in this reform. Possibly the Govt may be compelled to rush the needed legislation through, - if not during the fast, within a couple of months after it. It was pretty sure that untouchability will go.

Very soon after that, Hindu - Moslem Sikh unity will be attained, - before next winter anyhow. Perhaps Govt may get scared & try to force the new legislation through before Indian unity is secured.

The Reforms of Concentration would get in force as they now Indian unity approaching

But the Churchill Tories might block that. Indeed, the development would be too rapid for the Govt to evolve clauses that would fit the changes. The White Paper is all a unit, each clause dovetailing into the others, and all based on the present status and existing division of Indian communities. Take away, the whole structure falls.

So Gandhi's arm is mightily powerful, - engine at of prison.

My analysis & prediction of results of last autumn's fast proved true, so I have reason to hope that my present ideas are valid.

It is reported that Bengali H. Suhrawardy tried to get out of the Poona Pact but Gandhi stopped that. Also Bengali Hindus blocked the unity movement last autumn. So this fast is partly aimed at them. If it brings them to their senses & breaks

soften their hearts and effectively disarm them, the unity efforts will succeed. All Indians will be made more conscious of their Indianhood, Even Pimas will feel that. Even Pimas will be moved to join movement as untouchables.

Silvards may be afraid that with Franklin gone the Congress would go into franklin welcome & would be so much weakened that Joint would come down more heavily on them (Silvards) and all Indians. They might have been planning Congress to do the heavy fighting as Joint while they steal the plums.

While Silvards & Pimas men are funding the reforms will go through & unity be accomplished. So they will be caught in defensive position, and my bandy pranked by Congress later. Pimas

men may be carry enough to swing to Congress support quickly.

The latter words of the Moderate — in London ~~help~~ shows how moderate feeling is running in our nation anyhow.

Govt thought they could hold Gandhi quiet till the new Constitution was enacted, & then with that all securely rigged, could let him out & fight the Congress with police in all elections & defeat them forever by creating vested interest of Indians opposed to Congress. But that scheme is limited now. Congress courage & morale will be so enhanced that open struggle will probably begin in summer or anyhow in autumn. Women will take bigger part. For Non-violence

will be further emphasized.
People will be more ready to go
to jail. Violent revolutionaries
will be more likely to ~~take~~
power a bounty of the programme,
in Mr Mukherji's matter.

Gandhi's fast, as last autumn,
re-emphasizes the moral aspect of the
Indian situation. This, coming just after
the appointment of the Archbishop of
Canterbury on the Joint Select Com,
will have an effect on ~~on~~ Br.
conscience, - subconsciously. If Gandhi
dies, the Established Church will be shaken
and lose moral prestige. -

May 5. Rumors in the papers of G's probable
release confirm my ideas of Br embar-
rassment. This fact comes after a period
of agitation, in England as well as in India,

for his release. The Labour Party practically refused it in H. of C. Gt. Br having to yield to Gandhi what it refused to the Labour Party is quite a quietude. Shows which has the greater moral authority, - Gandhi or Br Labour Party. It means that if Gandhi lives & Br Labour Party comes into power, he can compel it to yield.

The revolt of Tories on Br. Govt's ~~tariff~~ trade arrangement w. Germany, & on MacDonald's attempt at tariff truce w. U.S., adds to its revolt on Govt's Indian policy. Simon & MacDonald are both, now to secure. Division within Tory party will help Labour to win in some by elections. All the world tension, including that between U.S. & Gt Br, is sapping Br. unity & also unity of Tory party.

May 8. The fact will (1) put fresh courage into all

patriotic Indians, especially Congress people; (2) strengthen the forces of non-violence; (3) increase the self-respect and prestige of Congress as an organization and ~~of~~ its individual members ~~(etc)~~ and its program; (4) will strengthen the forces of the Harijan reform and hasten its accomplishment very markedly; (5) will weaken the moral, and hence the social and political position and prestige of those who have opposed this reform; (6) will weaken the moral, social & political prestige of all selfish, timid, ~~time~~ greedy time-serving leaders of all other groups, by (this applies to Bengalis) contrast w. G.; (7) will ~~make~~ frighten all these other leaders for fear they will lose G's moderating influence and pressure on G. Br.; ~~and~~ (8) will temporarily stir them to help this reform; (9) will hasten ~~the~~ and perhaps accomplish H.-M.-S unity; (10) will touch the hearts of all Indians; (11) re-emphasize ~~the~~ to the whole

would the moral aspect of the struggle in India, (12) by compelling Govt to release Gandhi unconditionally, will enhance G's moral supremacy over Govt in eyes of all Indians; (13) will cause further division among Br Tories, and anger in Churchill group; (14) ~~after G~~ if G survives and after he segregates, he will do something which will either lower Br. prestige further (e.g. asking Willingdon again for an unconditional talk & having W again refuse him or yield & ~~finally~~ admit he was in wrong before a final timely out-manoeuvre) or else will stir (15) will weaken Amendment by Indians into more active C.D.; & ~~The~~ if the Tory party splits wide open, & the Churchill wing throw out Cabinet on Indian & other issues, the Indian Liberals will be all dressed up & nowhere to go, & revolt will again break out & Liberals will return to their fealty. Moslems would be more inclined to come along with Congress this time.

sending Hoare reforms so much more than he ever dreamt of

(16) By weakening the prestige of selfish leaders of, they will become less useful to Govt; (17) By example will tend to make Hindu leaders more generous, less selfish, powder of Indian culture as opposed to western, & therefore more ready to unite with minorities; (18) the reform will make minorities more favourably disposed to Hindus; (19) If G survives, his personal influence can be brought more directly to bear on other leaders of all communities to create an agreement. He will probably bend his efforts in that direction rather than pressing C.D. at present (20) Minorities would trust Gandhi more than any other Hindu leader & :: would prefer to make their agreement with Hindus while he is living & his influence & generosity is strongest than to wait till he is dead. That, together with the stronger & more widespread opposition to

Br. program than ever before will be a strong aid to unity.

~~Moslem leaders will realize~~ If G dies then the fact his influence with Hindus will be so enhanced that he will be able to compel them to yield more to Moslems & Sikhs than ever before, and the general temper everywhere will be softened and purified. Moslem & Sikh leaders will realize that that will be best time to make an agreement with Hindus. Never again such an opportunity. When things come so close to unity agreement before they will succeed this time, and the reform of Hinduism will make the agreement lasting.

May 9. Calling off C.D. for one month will concentrate all Hindu efforts on Harijan reform, & will modify Br. opinion in England. Harijan reform is the heart of the whole problem.

C.D. can be termed whether I die or not.
Appeal to Govt to release political prisoners
will not be needed or will : tend to show
all India grim that Govt intends only
absolute slavery.

All his political life Gandhi has been
told he is in the wrong. Yet his triumphs
have steadily mounted. Seems was always
right. Why not also a great Indian
leader too?

He says he is willing to cooperate with
Govt does not mean on Govts terms.
He is trying to give a chance for better
elements in Govt to come to top, to
get behind the free saving elements
to prove he holds no malice. Govt
has not broken spirit of the people
& cannot. G is trying to gain breathing
space, so as not to get shut up

again before he can accomplish anything
post. Suspension for 1 CD. month is not
permanent, as was shown by its
arrival after Wellington Post. By so acting
he may prove to many English that Willingdon
made a bad mistake before in refusing to see
Gandhi. May create division among Br in
India & outside.

Quotes from "Habits: their Making and
Unmaking" by Knight Dunlap - Liveright,
Inc. N. Y. 1932.

15. "Our living is mostly learning, and
success in life is almost wholly by success in
learning."

33. "The responses which are employed in learning
are not the responses to be learned."

41-2 "All responses are instinctive in the sense
that they are dependent upon, or determined

by heredity. The unlearned responses (if there be any) are instinctive. But the learned responses, in their utmost complexity of modification, are equally instinctive. As soon as we abandon the previous contrast between 'instinctive' and 'learned', the term 'instinctive' has no useful meaning, and not before".

19-164 ---The general procedures which are apparently applicable to memory-retention and to recall-retention.

"1. One procedure important for memorizing is the going beyond the mere thinking of the item, and thinking about it. This thinking about it involves the thought of the relations of the item of knowledge to other items. --- The adequate procedure is the integration of the item with other items already known in the

same topic. .... The last framework is in the synthesis of all the facts of the various relationships. ... In other words: to last class details in any unified field of learning, we must study that field, not as a collection of isolated items, but as items involved in specific and complicated relationships.

"2. In the process of study, desire to learn is an important factor. ... The desire involves interest and motivation of complex sorts, which are the means of keeping the learning process up to effective pitch.

"3. The third important thing in learning a topic is to keep evaluating it. Questions cannot be taught, but it is essential.

"4. Constant evaluation of progress is to be avoided. This is destructive in many cases though producing discouragement;

but it seems to produce disastrous results in other
ways not easily charted." -- Ideals, purpose and plans are the indispensible conditions of effective learning. There, however, is their work but when let alone. --- An item which is perceived or thought with full attention for an adequate length of time is better retained than an item which receives only partial attention. --- An equally important matter, --- is the fact that there is a time-limit of effective attention.

[Should also use] negative practice --- effort to forget." In applying the negative method, it should be borne in mind that the voluntary lapsing of the item from attention is not effortless. --- The item must be voluntarily put out. Probably in

this volitional process is the real secret of the effort. (Cf. Ribot's idea of dynamic learning of multiplication tables). --- ~~The effort to learn~~

"Positive effort is in general detrimental to learning. In other words, the effort to learn interfere with learning. The effort to forget, on the other hand, is equally detrimental to forgetting, that is, it assists learning. [this effort of inertia] is a psychological inertia] ... Whether similar application [of negative method] can be made to the retention of skills remains to be determined. The avoidance of this effort to remember is an important matter in many practices in which memory and remembering occur."

179-181 "The criminal is maladjusted. We may try to substitute readjustment for penal procedure. But what is the

nature of the readjustment? Is it the making of the criminal's response more adequate to his own interests? We may tell him this is so, but we do not believe it. What we are really attempting is a readjustment which will make the criminal's behavior more adequate to our own interests.

"Readjustment of the criminal can take only one course; namely, that of making crime disadvantageous to the criminal, and then adjusting the criminal to the altered situation. This involves the introduction of ethical ideals by which the interests of the group are substituted for the interests of the individual. Then his responses are to be adjusted in accordance with these ideals, so that his responses actually are, in

many regrets, to his decided disadvantage. This is the exact opposite of the ordeal procedure, and is a type of readjustment which is quite remote from our main idea of increasing the 'advantageousness' of the response. For the advantage of the individual, we substitute the advantage of the group, in opposition to which the advantage of the individual is an evil.

"This substitution is, however, a source of danger. Instead of the actual advantage of the group, which is the moral standard, we may substitute the advantage of a particular faction or class; and this is immoral. Or, we may, in our ignorance, substitute an entirely fictitious advantage, taking, therefore, from the individual, but giving to no one. Much current social legislation is of the first type. Unfortunately, also,

much is of the second type.

"Constructive criminology is a difficult subject. The readjustment of criminals requires not merely a knowledge of how to readjust to given conditions; it requires also the assurance of the adequate conditions to which criminals should be readjusted. Neither of these requirements has been met so far as scientific knowledge is concerned. The adjustment of the individual is ~~still more~~ important, and the adjustment of the social environment is still more important, but criminology is still in the dark on both points."

181 -- "For the greater part of the insane, it is not evident that they are shorter lived or less happy than the 'normal' person

But they are non-productive; they require our support; and in other ways they annoy us and interfere with our plans. This is the essence of insanity. An insane man who is self-supporting, who interferes with no one else and who annoys no one else does not exist. The type of thought process does not matter. The 'mind' of the many insane is probably as orderly as that of the many 'sane' men. Certainly many insanities are far rounder in their mental processes than many successful 'men of affairs'. ... Except for the idiots and imbeciles ... the feeble-minded may have been just — 'fit' for the life of the new stone age as for the present day; they may even have been more 'fit' than the more intelligent type.

p. 196. To touch a bad habit

(1) The patient must understand the ist-

nation in which he is. He must be aware of the actual inadequacy of the habit, and the nature of the landscape which it contributes.

(2) He must form, or must accept, the proper ideals, conceiving as clearly as possible of the results which will accrue from the elimination of the habits.

(3) He must have an actual desire to realize these ideals, to modify the habitual response in the direction of the more adequate one.

(4) He must engage seriously and persistently in the practice which is outlined for him as a means to the desired end.

[illegible] The practice will involve more than merely stopping the habit: positive practice

is also useful, together with positive effort in building up a new habit crowding out the old.)

202. "The function of practice is to modify response."

219. "Various detrimental results do accrue from masturbation in a great many cases. Social maladjustment and marital difficulties are the most conspicuous pernicious results. Whether or not prostatic troubles in the male are commonly prepared for is a subject of dispute at present. Other personal damage is certainly done in many cases. The situation, emotionally, perceptually and rationally in masturbation, is distinctly abnormal, and the possibility of permanent or prolonged damage is one to which young people should be subjected as little as possible

That regulated promiscuity between the sexes in youth would be a far less serious matter than masturbation, there can be no doubt, so far as hygienic results are concerned, however undesirable this may be from the social point of view. ---

-- "The least indication of either modesty or immodesty on the part of the psychologist or the least indication of what is called popularly a 'moral' attitude is fatal. The boy must first be led to understand that masturbation is equally on the plane of a physical ailment, so far as it 'immorality' or its importance is concerned. He must understand that the habit is on the whole an undesirable one, like the habit of sniffing or the habit of clearing the throat, if practiced

in, it may possibly injure him. On the other hand, he should not be frightened or led to look on the habit as loathsome or scandalous. He should not be led to assume that it has already damaged him or that its continuation in the immediate future will seriously damage him. He should understand that the continuation may eventually be damaging, that its continuation for any length of time involves risk, and that it is far better to break it now than to postpone the resolution".

7.7. "While emphasizing the importance of negative practice in the breaking of habits, and its indispensable function in many cases, we must not overlook the value of positive practice, where applicable, in these cases. ... The relation of positive practice to

negative practice is that negative practice begins the learning process and positive practice finishes.

..."Efficient learning, then, depends on four primary factors: (1) The conception of the ideal result to which the learning tends. (In colloquial terms, knowing what is to be learned. (2) Desire to learn, to achieve the ideal that is contemplated. (3) Learning capacity. (4) The appropriation to the ideals which the learner accepts as 'satisfying'.

(37) "An emotional state is a response. All responses, including emotional responses, are capable of learning [illegible]

(40) (Cf. to James - Lange theory) ~~An emotion~~ is "a complex of bodily conditions produced as the ordered result of a normal response.

241. An emotion is only a complex affair, and feeling constitutes only a part of its complexity. A feeling, in any useful meaning of the term, is a bodily state, existing in muscular and connective tissue, and capable of stimulating nerve endings. By the usual stimulation from such a bodily pattern, a response may be initiated; and though this response the individual may be conscious, more or less vaguely, of the bodily state which initiates it. We call the response a feeling response, and say that though it one 'feels the feeling' & that he 'has the feeling'.

"In 'having an emotion' we are not merely 'having a feeling'. The actual response is complicated by thinking, or rather by what would be thinking if it occurred alone, instead of being complicated by

the feeling factor. The thinking which occurs in emotional response - by far its most important feature.

241. "Fear and anger both normally arise in circumstances when the individual is threatened, when something or someone threatens to injure him, or to deprive him of something. Not all emotion arising under such circumstances is fear or anger, however. There must be, in addition, the recognition of the threat as actual and serious. The thought component - the actual determinant. The distinction between anger or any other emotion and fear depends on the thought involved. If the threatened individual thinks that the injury or deprivation is not to be averted by his actions, the emotion is fear. If he

thinks it can be averted, the emotion is something else. This distinction is valid, regardless of the actual feelings involved.

"We class an emotion as anger only when the thrust comes from the action or the supposed action of another person or from some object or some whole which is personified. Further, there is present the thought of inflicting such adverse acts, or of preventing the enemy from performing the act, or of inflicting punishment for the act. The mere thought of injury to another person does not constitute anger, whatever the feeling accented in the response. Such a response may be cruel, but without the thought of a thrust or completed injury from another person, it is not anger. ...

"We are familiar with the fact that fear, almost any extreme expression may even

the individual who is afraid may be almost immobile: he may tremble; he may run; he may be remarkably elated; he may fight; he may laugh; he may weep. All of these various expressions occur also in rage. We might reasonably expect, therefore, that the visceral changes would be as various, and that the feelings which are felt in these emotions are correspondingly diverse. The diversity does not matter, so far as our naming the emotions is concerned. Fear is any feeling, or complex of feelings, whatever, which is integrated with certain thought processes. Anger is similarly a type of thinking in given circumstances, combined with any feelings which may arise in these circumstances. [Hume critic of thought, and right understanding; a sound

manipulative skill, e.g. W.R., will eliminate fear + anger. If anger is always or often living force, must ~~be~~ anger ~~I~~ men.

"The analysis of fear and anger gives us the key to other emotions. Jealousy, shame, pride, grief - these and all other emotions which might be named, together with the many, many emotions which have no conventional names, are determined by the thinking involved in them, and the quality of the feeling involved is not material. Each of these emotions is essentially a certain thought-complex, integrated with any feeling process whatever. Although aroused in consciousness by definite external stimulations, the thought-complex characterizing any emotion may be aroused in some other way; and if feeling occurs, the result is the specific emotion

174. "We must distinguish between emotion, properly so-called, in which the feelings and the ideas are integrated in a temporal pattern, and emotional mood, in which feelings persist or repeatedly recur, with little patterned variation, though marking changes in thought topics. Apathy and callousness, for example, are not emotions, but emotional mood. ---

"We must distinguish emotions also from the generalized habits of feeling which are properly designated as sentiments. Love and patriotism are not emotions, and not feelings, but are typical sentiments which involve in definite patterns of habit many emotions and many feelings.

---" Bad emotional habits (do not make

stand alone, but are parts of complex habit systems, and must be diagnosed and treated as such.

"The foregoing analysis of emotions should show that in forming 'good' emotional habits, and in breaking 'bad' ones, we have to deal primarily with thought and with thought habits. 'As a man thinketh, so is he' certainly is true for emotional traits, if we understand the saying in both its positive and its negative implications. Feelings may be in themselves important for practical life. The importance of feeling in emotional habits is slight, however, as compared with the importance of the thought-factor.

"If abnormal habits of feeling have a foundation in disease or other abnormal organic conditions, they need remedial attention; otherwise they may be given

minor consideration in therapeutic work. It is of great practical importance to impress on the neurotic patient that his feeling, as reported by him, may be of use to the psychologist in diagnosing his case, but so far as he himself is concerned, it doesn't matter how he feels. Often, when the patient really grasps and accepts this, his cure is in great part accomplished." [It is important to be skilled in manipulating actuality, i.e. things can be controlled by thoughts].

M.V.R. has been well enough known in India so that other Swedes Burgen can review it and run it. But removal of untouchability requires Gandhi. Even if the Br. White Paper

goes into effect, unity among Indians could smash it.

May 10. If Gandhi dies, the situation is back at the Delhi time, with the following changes.

(1) Congress far stronger in hearts of the people, both peasants & city. Better disciplined. Proven endurance.

(2) Govt has showed its intentions completely.

(3) Every Indian nation is hostile to Br. plans.

(4) If G. dies he will have proved his right to appoint successors.

(5) If Hindu-Muslim Sikh unity is attained, Govt will be only the prime & perhaps the landlords outside, & they will want to get on the bandwagon.

(6) Suspension of C.D. movement gives Govt prime moral authority to Br.

May 9. Gandhi's intention to compel
in effect by to make time if Govt
release prisoners + withdraw ordinances. If it refuses,
I will return to jail + struggle will be
[illegible] he will again [illegible] a definite
and quick [illegible] [illegible]
resumed. / way of doing it allows
Govt to assess its tactics without
losing face. Govt undoubtedly made a
lot of statement when it thought it
could defeat Congress, which it now
regrets but will not admit out of pride.
Govt wants to get Congress into negotiations
but so will have to take some risk about
removal of C.D. in order to start negotia-
tions again. Willingdon blundered badly
+ J is making it easy for him. But
J is not yielding any principles,
any more than when he said he would go
to London. At same time he

S.R. Lokam is with Shanti at Sonali.

The fast by Gandhi is an exertion of ~~the~~ mind in spirit as a power greater than flesh & the senses. By example it affects people as a demonstration of such mind and the answer to it. It is a symbol of reliance on higher forces, of self-denial and cure of self-inflicting suffering of malfeasance, of purification. It is an exertion of courage and of will. Physiologically it is known to clarify the mind and perception of intangible relations. All this is understandable to the West. In Hindu legend and thought it is a strong motif, - the power of austerity to move even the gods. Buddha abandoned it, but Buddha failed to hold India. Englishmen now

fact and cannot understand its effects on the person who does it or on others, no more than a person who has never had an experience can understand that phenomenon, or than a young person without experience can appreciate and fully understand an old person.

But Charlie's opposed objection is full of usual British arrogance, that anything must appeal to Englishmen or be approved by them in order to be valid or successful. So lacking in imagination.

May 15. Today was about the great majority among Women Toiling Society re Gandhi's plan for India leaders if by autumn the plan would be vetoed by Parl. Great heat & more struggle

or to compel drastic change, — no change at centre + police in Br hands. If some such thing happens, then all Br India will join with Congress. Unity will bring freedom. Maybe bloodshed, but nevertheless freedom. England will split wide open. It may come before end of Ca. conference. If it is Churchill Br will be the tail to U.S. dog at the conference.

Possibly the most immediate in the Br exchange equalization fund is partly to provide against losses due to flight from the £ in case India is lost. ~~But I doubt that, for it~~ That may also be indicated by the growth of Churchill's strength. A struggle between two groups in England, - finance + trade.

This fast may soften Shaukat Ali. It is so similar to Sept 1924 one.

May 16. The fast comes while Gayan & Ambedkar & various other place seekers are in London & ∴ unable to make much trouble. It will cut their influence still further.

Because the fast is unconstitutional it does not impose as much a tax on Jo strength. Seems.

Arthur Schnitzler believed that no person can be free so long as he lies to himself, so long as he accepts false standards of morality which impose on him the inhibiting sense of guilt. "All moral confusion" says his commentator, results from the fact that few people know their own true nature, and why that only a small minority

the courage to act in accordance with this knowledge." But they alone are on the road to freedom.

"The reformer must have conscious-ness of the truth of his cause. He will not then be impatient with the opponent; he will be impatient with himself." — Mr. K. Gandhi.

Perhaps the ultra Tory wing will fight & outthrow the present Govt in regard to the debt payment June 15. Sir Herbert Samuel talks of a possible general election before end of the year. If ultra Tories come into power, all India will unite, I think, & non-cooperate successfully. If a general election is called, the Labour Party might win again, at any rate they would be so strong in

the new Govt so to compel alteration of the White Paper. If either of these shifts takes place, more decent Br. opinion of what is happening in India will be more vocal.

If as a result of G's fast the move for Indian unity gets any strong or is actually successful, the ultra-Tory faction will probably get much stronger out of fight. That will only serve to unite India all the more firmly. The most poisonous of the Indian Loyalists are at London where they can have little influence on affairs in India.

Some of the events and stages in a defeat ~~such~~ in an international ~~struggle~~ would be

more failures, disappointment,

financial losses; prestige losses; ~~discussion~~ if continued for some time; - discouragement; conviction of mistakes; sustaining of opponents' effort; increase of opponents' influence; ~~anxiety~~; conviction of wrongness of one's own position or premises; internal dispute; sense of helplessness; disheartenment; sense of inevitable failure; ~~sense of~~ hopelessness; entire loss of morale; defeat.

Those which I have marked with (-) have already occurred among the British, and perhaps some of the others.

If fast may move the Princes deeply, too. ~~The~~ Harijan reform has already started in several States. The piling of Projets of Ahrar will make landslides among the Princes.

Model of the Brown Race—Kashmiri Praying.

One reason for giving all to the poor is always being w. the poor is because they are having the hardest time, & to help them helps the whole race most. I.e. It not only increases — human unity but also helps to raise the human race as a whole.

Gandhi about his inconsistency. Harijan April 22, 1933. ... "~~I would~~ "I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent. In my search after truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things. Old as I am in age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to

grow inwardly or that my growth will stop at the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment, and, therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any two writings of mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same subject."

Indian Govt's refusal to release political prisoners probably means they will also refuse to negotiate with Congress prior to end of fast. That will mean that all Indians ~~moderates~~ will see that govt is still at war declaring Congress & trying to enslave the country. That will harden Congress wing vs Govt. Gandhi

will return to jail, the maybe he will first address an open letter to Viceroy asking for an interview. Will be turned down again. All that will help toward an Indian unity movement, for the dissatisfied Moslems will incline to assert their manhood too. Congress is too powerful for Govt ever to smash. If Govt means to exclude Congress from legislatures also it is running a permanent opposition which will need no Gandhi to keep it alive.

If in a n.v. struggle the each of truth n v n engage in secrecy, that is a sign of fear & ruins it all. Openness is a form of truth. Secrecy is a form of untruth. S. n v n. and truth are closely united.

Failure in one means failure in the other.

—

June 8. Winston Churchill in a recent speech referred to the possibility of Br. clearing out of India entirely. Significant. Br. discouragement steadily mounts & spreads. Civil service appeal vs Wh. P., is another straw showing sense of insecurity.

—

I think that civil disobedience will be renewed because of the implications of Gandhi's statement and the obstinate refusals of the Govt. Possibly the suspension will end it. We shall see.

Roger thinks that the two suspensions ~~stopped~~ were bad mistakes. But the first won world public opinion. The record is due to the coming down of the people a necessity of securing unity. I think the

first was right on long time Satyagraha principles, tho possibly not. The Churchill revolt seems a ~~[illegible]~~ (Heaven sent thing to sting India into unity.

The renewal of C.D. may not be immediate, but the need of the young men to find outlet for their energy will compel it sooner or later. It may await the attaining of H.-M. unity. The energy of the ~~[illegible]~~ young men will temporarily be driven into untouchability reform and H.-M. unity movement. It will be resumed in order to prevent Indian violence.

The phrase is G's statement that "if C.D. must be resumed", it may indicate that he doesn't think it should be, or that if the Govt fails and ∴ it has to be resumed. The compulsion might be

taken to come from Gouti ~~to~~ equal to those prisoners o negotiate, or from some other cause, such as the insistence of the younger men. In view of the other phrases in his statement I think he means that it must be assumed if Gouti does not change its position.

He says he will advise Congress leaders what to do, & yet will not urge or guide C.D. Yet he may give advice as to what to avoid doing if they do restart C.D. His asking to be put back in jail is in keeping with his statement that it is the quality of the writers that counts more than the quantity. As the other big leaders will remain in jail, that quality will remain high and presumably some more of the important leaders will come back into jail. Malvadev being out

will probably transmit some of Gandhi's
final thoughts to Congress leaders who
guide the movement. Gandhi will
no doubt help the H-M unity movement
before he returns.

If Jowett refuses to put him in jail
at his request, preferring to find him
in an overt act of defiance rather
than to get him secretly, laughed at by all Indians,
then probably G will get busy on visiting
the country & advising how to conduct
C.D. He might stay out long enough
to start a good big volume of a
movement before he gets arrested
again, but I think Jowett would
lock him up pretty fast.

Work out implications of that locking
up on request.

The large number of Indian-spoken English-Indians who are in the police in Indian towns, bearing on [illegible] police in Indian towns under proposed new Constit. They will be less loyal to an Indian minister than to a Br one perhaps.

If you slam and does in power, people say it is envy or malice. But if, instead, you praise the other values & people who are following them, it is more apt to cause searching of heart, doubts, shame etc among the rulers of power and their friends.

Smith Wyler points out, from his own experience, that there is little or no value in going into an industrial situation & trying to help the strikers or to get free speech unless you prepare all parties in

advance, give complete notice of what you are going to do, but also stay by the situation, because as soon as you leave the strikers get more excited than before. Also you must prepare for it in advance, by self discipline, by group discipline, & by work for the people so as to have established a fund of trust among the people in the leader & a sense of public confidence so that authorities will be careful what they do.

Snd Slade's new book on Egypt indicates the reason for his objection to Br. White Paper re India is that by yielding the appearance of self-govt but retaining blind reserves, the only means for retaining Br control is withdrawn.

no longer can the cry be raised about protection of the peasants. So apparently the fears that world opinion will regard Br control as purely selfish and ∴ no longer support it heartily. That is his avowed objection to what was done in Egypt, & presumably that holds also as regards India. It fits with some of Churchill's recent speeches. That Churchill & Lloyd think the Br position needs stiffening in this respect is a piece of shameful ruling class judgment too.

Resolutions of Moslem Congress reflect great disorganization among Indian moslems. I think the effects of the fast may not be apparent for 6 months. Not only will it affect untouchability but also will alter the whole line-up in India. The Br (under Mrs Sletaman) think that now Gandhi has ceased to count as a political factor. That shows how shallow & ignorant

the British viewpoint is. Gandhi has not ceased to count as a moral factor & it is still a political factor. I think there will be a period of apparent stagnation in India for several months while the transformation is going on in people's subconsciousness.

It may be that Indians are now so divided that Gr. Br cannot find any group among them able & willing to run the proposed new Constitution. Or it may be that they come for orders for anything. That might be an effect of the Ordinances. That would also paralyze the works.

Or Western writers the last Cripps agreement between U.S. & Gr Br. is another acknowledgment of breakdown of capitalism. Both sides unwilling to be honest & say

admit openly that the promises could not or would not be kept, yet condoning the default. The people of the U.S. will bear the load, no matter how the Congressmen scream. Nobody proposes to let people off their taxes.

~~One~~ Part of the way to attain happiness is to create an environment in which one can function easily and with mastery. ~~Does~~ Women are often better than men at this, - the home-making instinct. Since the most important part of one's environment is the relations with people, and one by always being kind and useful to other people you create for the long run a pleasant reaction timely from everyone, the surest way to be happy is to love everyone and show it by all acts

Action may relieve and stimulate the inner voice and the subconscious just as apparently this method of note-taking relieves and stimulates the subconscious mind. Note taking of this sort seems to encourage the imagination. Poets ought to do it. Of Beethoven and his music. Technical men & inventors, too. It enables one to create a personal philosophy; to integrate and give form to ones thinking and attitude.

I must work out my plan of action & life for next few years in relation to my convictions & what I can do for practical movement in its largest scale & in relation to the circumstances of America & the world.

Re discipline for N.V.R., some of the practice and new-habit formation must be individual and some social, i.e. by oneself and together with others.

Sahore Tribune
Rattan Chand Road, Sahore.

The Leader,
Leader Bldg. Leader Road
Allahabad, U.P.

Free Press Journal
21 Bala Street, Fort, Bombay.

The creative effort [illegible] of unity through religious [illegible] will show powerfully in the end the Hungry [illegible] India.

Having people think I am green and ineffective etc is part of the price I must pay for attempting to do what I am doing. ∴ Carry it lightly.

Gandhi's moral authority has increased immensely since the fact. "Harijan" reports are most impressive of the momentum of the reform. If the Viceroy now refuses to listen to him and he asks to be sent back in jail, I think India will rally to him far stronger than before.

The fact that
Each person feels himself the centre of the universe, and is a separate centre of consciousness from which the universe is interpreted, is perhaps an inverted way of saying the ~~immanence of the~~

divine spirit. God is conscious of the universe & so is each self-conscious human being.

If so, it is the duty of each person to express God as completely as he can. Therefore, there should never be any pride or vanity over anything we have done. Nor any self-~~de~~ inferiority complex either. Give me strength.

Because the human race is a unity & lives as a whole, living in luxury & undue comfort is, as Bryan says, stealing from the whole & from God. The body is not evil, but it is so partial and the bodily senses are so insistent to deceive us into a sense of separateness that it is wise to subordinate it & constantly insist on the spirit as the unifying factor.

July 10. L. Spectator says that Indian Congress meeting is set for July 14 If Gandhi

is strong enough he will be in on the
Com. meeting anyhow. I expect he may
let them go their own way, as he
did with C. R. Das, and devote
himself to ending untouchability and
building up Khaddar and a band of
disciples who understand him &
will carry on his policies after
he dies. My book can help that
But Br. may not allow the
meeting. If it is broken up again
as last April, then the ~~struggle~~
C.D. will continue. If the
meeting is allowed, perhaps C.D.
may be suspended for a definite
term. I think Gandhi can hold
them to that limit. Then if govt
refuses to yield Gandhi can come
back strong again. If Congress

or suspends it for a definite period

iments on giving up C.D. entirely. It

~~think I will ask Govt to put him back in~~ If any consider that "clears" the "murkiness" of the political atmosphere & may not ask to go back to prison. But if the meeting is banned & broken up, I will again ask to go back to prison.

Inasmuch as Congress is so full of fear & hate now, the morale of Satyagraha has broken down, and it would be likely that Gandhi may call a halt & retreat as after Chauri-Chaura in 1922. It took him 6 yrs labor to come back after that. This time, the lesson has gone so much further, & all social processes are so much speeded up that the discipline ought to be secured in 3 or 4 yrs. Also Khaddar & untouchability reforms are

much further advanced. Perhaps the struggle on an Indian basis would be much easier than on Br. My book can help.

In a way this breakdown of moral is worse than that of Chauri-Chaura because it is of fear & agony rather than of violence. But the discipline has been far more deeply & widely extended and the advance on Br far greater than that of 1921-22. The whole country has been immensely stimulated & its self-confidence & determination greatly strengthened. Indian unity is far greater than before.

Also victories of violence have a way of stepping back at the victors. G. Br has lost heavily in a moral way. She will feel the moral

repercussions of this struggle for many years, tho it is not easy yet to see them.

Gandhi will be guided. If the Br. National Govt awaits before the White Paper plan can be put into effect, it may go badly away a few years.

If the struggle is resumed after W.P. constitution goes into effect perhaps the fact that it will be on Indian will ensure a certain amt of the latent ~~f~~ involved in the 1933 struggle & ∴ make it more effective.

Send a copy of my RVR book if published, to Schmeltzer. Might make reference to Schmeltzer's "memories for life" in a footnote.

July 13, 1933. I think Gandhi will not abandon Bengal to its fate or so will not yield utterly on C.D. He might let Congress go its own way while he himself goes back to prison.

Perhaps X's awareness that on some occasions the loud and violent of speech & action was one reason why he refused to be called good, & spoke of having been tempted in all points like other men

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July 25. If Indian struggle peters out now Gandhi can, & I think will, after perhaps some months of imprisonment, devote himself to K & untouchability work, thus laying ground for renewed civil by peasants, &

him one again coming back into politics & merging the Congress. After his retirement from politics in 1924 he took only 4 years to come back. The pace of events is so much swifter now than then, that he would be back in 3 years. By then either the W.P. Court would have been abandoned because of a complete shift in Br politics, or adopted & found working by Indians, or made law but not put into effect because of financial & Princely difficulties. Meanwhile there would be a new viceroy & so forever Br. in civil service. Probably Br power would be weaker in rest of the world, too. Perhaps my book may have been published & helped as the K book did.

When I make up special book on detailed
N.V.R. discipline, insert names of a
number of books that discuss the
important sentiments, - love, love of people
truth, tolerance, patience, humility,
hope, faith, detachment toward
property, simplicity,

Aug 4. On July 31 just as
Gandhi was arrested, news of
bombing of N.W.F villages by British
planes began to ~~fall~~ come in our
papers every day, just as in active
E.D. days. Does this mean
sudden movement by Br, preparing
us for possible news of slaughter of
Indians by army, or is it because
Br know America is keen for news
from India as Gandhi's arrest a

is using this as filler? The news in bowdlerized transcript a Mr. Naidu was obviously censored or obviously a filler. An attempt by the correspondent to save his skin, or an indication by him that something is popping there? He refers to the "tense political situation in India".

Aug/6. There is a radio rumor that Gandhi has announced he will fast to death. I rather doubt it on those absolute terms myself. It may be that he feels that the tempo must be speeded up or that by his example he must seal a permanent opposition to G. Br., or sting the Indian moderates into action. Maybe G. Br. has started some further dirty work among the untouchables

or other communities. Or perhaps his intuition was that by this means he can arouse the better parts of the Jew & stimulate effective action there.

Such an action is an assumption of responsibility for world evil by one person, whereby the whole of humanity concentrated & represented in one person, rebukes the world evil tendencies and asserts the eternity & power of principles. Like X

Some young Japanese revolutionists, as I read or heard today, to have said they consider themselves like stones thrown into the earth upon which later the foundations of a house will be built.

aug 17

"The love of money is the root of evil", said the Bible. That love is capitalized in the form of interest, i.e. — a mechanism by which more money can be obtained from a beginning of some money. Also by the current idea of money as a store of value.

We have to pay a price for everything we do or get. I am quite willing to trade temporal things that seem less valuable (e.g. comforts, time, energy, labor, money, reputation, etc) for permanent things that seem to me more valuable.

It is ~~[illegible]~~ it significant that Gandhi was this time imprisoned on a definite charge & definite term, I gm? Due to some political exigencies, or state of Indian feeling, or to make it easy to release him when

perhaps they may want to bargain with him, without hurting their pride or prestige? ~~It will~~ His term will be up toward end of Willingdon's viceroyalty, & perhaps W hopes to make a big coup at end by ~~typ~~ winning over Gandhi + the Congress. Perhaps an indication :. that W wishes he could have acceded to G's proposals for conference.

Shaukat Ali's address
% All India Khilafat Committee,
Sone Sone, Mazagaon, Bombay City

Aug 18. NVR book changes in Ch X to Dr it only the novelty ite? A, B, C, D. p. 173, 9th l. from bottom

Gandhi calling in consultation, several distinguished non-Congress leaders at time of Congress meeting was a good stroke. Sastri's

It was a natural outcome of the and supplement to the June 6th telegram to Govt by 70 non-Congress leaders. It undoubtedly helped unify Indians. Under Liberals feel a part of patriotic Indians & that they were playing a part in determining natl destiny. Govt's effort to set aside Gandhi's, e.g. not inviting Sastri to sit R.T.C. that added blended well with Govt's subsequent moderation & tact in asking for interview with Viceroy. So Viceroy's refusal of Gandhi will be felt by those Indians. Helps reunite them to

Gandhi + to Congress. It is interesting that N.C. Kelkar came + claimed to be a Congressman. Probably a Congressman that C.D. would be abandoned if Gandhi + he hoped to gain; London from Govt by charging that he influenced the decision.

Information in Bombay Chron. re Poona meeting indicates that it was not so much loss of morale or discouragement as lack of leadership which understood the true meaning of N.V.R. If so, my book may perhaps help such Congress leaders.

The N V R book dont use so many documents as necessary. Modify o/c to off statement. It looks afraid +

untouchable even if it is not a fact, & so interfere with its efficacy. Also insert a footnote quote from Jo's statement of July 27 re quality vs quantity of evil & effect of struggle.

Khaddar, H.-H unity, ~~Swa~~ end of untouchability, all are interlinked & each influences the other. Each has to be pressed as the occasion appears. The workers will agree with Gandhi as soon as British workers grow clear. So the Satyagraha campaign is important for that. Satyagraha & reform of untouchability are the two important things now. Since Satyagraha goes slow, work on untouchability is of double importance & is so stressed by Bapu now. Also it has gained strength.

Re machine civilization, If you set so high a value on man's "mastery of nature" that you are willing to do anything in order to promote reverent invention of machinery, rather than laying the emphasis on man's being a part of nature and needing to harmonize himself with nature and with himself, individually & socially, then you get the ethical horrors of modern machine civilization. I prefer the Indian ideal of great simplicity of life, with as little machinery as possible, using natural forces in least mechanical way; not trying to pile up great surpluses of goods.

If you go in for "mastery over nature" it is partly because you fear death, & partly

because you are seeking a sense of power over outside things. Exposure. A wise way is to seek self-control, do not fear to die as an individual, rank the social good & moral beauty highest, don't rate social good in terms of comfort, abundance of material things but in terms of fine human relationships. If you go in for harmony with nature then you aim at fine ethical relationships, moral beauty, counting death from society rather than from the individual, quality of life rather than number of population or long duration of the individual life.

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